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Background studies on day care
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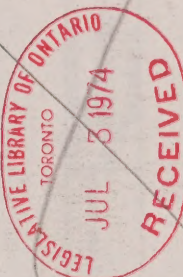
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FEASIBILITY REPORT AND DESIGN OF AN IMPACT STUDY OF DAY CARE

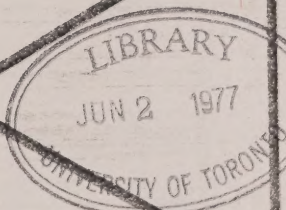
Center for the Study of Public Policy
Cambridge, Massachusetts

February 1971

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FEASIBILITY REPORT AND DESIGN OF AN
IMPACT STUDY OF DAY CARE

Final Report

February 1971

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BIBLIOGRAPHIC DATA SHEET		1. Report No. ORO-1N-973	2. Recipient's Accession No.
4. Title and Subtitle Feasibility Report and Design of an Impact Study of Day Care		5. Report Date February 1971	
6.			
7. Author(s)			
9. Performing Organization Name and Address The Center for the Study of Public Policy 56 Boylston Street Cambridge, Mass. 02138			
10. Project/Task/Work Unit No.			
11. Contract/Grant No. CG 1081			
12. Sponsoring Organization Name and Address Office of Economic Opportunity 1200 19th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20506			
13. Type of Report & Period Covered Final			
14.			
15. Supplementary Notes			
16. Abstracts A study to determine the alternative methods of child care, the probable costs, and the effects of such arrangements on children. Includes a manual to be used by community planners in designing and operating a child care system.			
17. Key Words and Document Analysis. 17a. Descriptors Education Schools Grante Project planning Early learning experience			
17b. Identifiers/Open-Ended Terms Child care Day care			
17c. COSATI Field/Group 51			
18. Availability Statement Distribution unlimited - Releasable to the public			
19. Security Class (This Report) UNCLASSIFIED		21. Number of Pages 206	
20. Security Class (This Page) UNCLASSIFIED		22. Price	

FORM NTIS-28 (10-70)

USE COMSEC KEY 10-171

0EO-LN-973

FEASIBILITY REPORT AND DESIGN OF AN
IMPACT STUDY OF DAY CARE

Final Report

This report was prepared
under Grant CG 1081
for the
U. S. Office of Economic Opportunity
Office of Program Development
Washington, D. C. 20506

by

The Center for the Study of Public Policy
56 Boylston Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

February 1971

PREFACE

Demands for a Federally-financed program to provide care for young children have increased dramatically in the last few years. Since almost nothing is known about the likely consequences of large-scale subsidies, or about the best methods of initiating and administering them, the Office of Economic Opportunity is actively considering an "Impact Study" of the subject. Six months ago OEO made a grant to the Center for the Study of Public Policy, a private, nonprofit research organization in Cambridge, and the Harvard Graduate School of Education to conduct an investigation of two questions:

1. Could an Impact Study which provided comprehensive day care for poor and perhaps near-poor families in one or two large communities help Federal officials and Congress decide between alternative mechanisms for funding day care, such as project grants and vouchers?
2. Would such an Impact Study tell OEO anything useful about the effect on poor parents and children of Federally-funded day care?

The present report addresses itself to these questions and makes recommendations for action by OEO. It is divided into two parts: the first part is a report on the feasibility of the Impact Study and the second part is a manual to be used by community planners in designing and operating a child care system.

Many people have contributed their time, effort and concern to this study, and we wish to thank them all.

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FEASIBILITY STUDY

SUMMARY OF THE FEASIBILITY STUDY

The Feasibility Study is divided into four chapters. Chapter I provides a general rationale for the kind of Impact Study recommended. It consists of three sections. The first section deals briefly with existing knowledge about child care arrangements and what can and cannot be learned from a study of this kind. It argues that such a study can be most useful if it provides as broad a range of alternatives as possible to parents, and tries to determine what choices parents will make among such alternatives. The second section presents three major critiques of current child care arrangements, each of which has implications for new arrangements in an expanded child care program. The third section of Chapter I describes the kinds of diversity which seem necessary if reasonable conclusions are to be drawn about parental preferences and behavior.

Chapter II provides a general description of how a child care system might be designed to ensure the availability of options described in Chapter I. It is divided into three sections. The first section of Chapter II deals with alternative funding mechanisms: project grants, service contracts, vouchers, and the hybrid which we have labeled "vendor payments." It discusses a procedure for using the funding mechanism both to encourage many groups of people to become providers of child care, and to provide incentives for improving the quality of care. The second section discusses eligibility requirements for users and providers in the child care system. The first part of this section deals with determining which families are eligible to participate in the child care system. It argues that no restrictions on eligibility should be imposed, but that parents above the poverty line should be required to pay part of the cost, according to a sliding fee scale based on income. The second part discusses the requirements a day care facility must meet in order to be eligible to receive funds. It argues that these requirements should be only those necessary to prevent child abuse and ensure equity and accountability in the system. This part of the chapter also discusses

ways of providing incentives for centers to improve quality, increase parent participation and achieve some degree of social class integration. The third section of Chapter II deals with the question of admissions, and suggests procedures for insuring fairness and simplicity in matching children and facilities.

Chapter III discusses in more detail the rationale and specifications for a demonstration project. The first section of the chapter describes the overall research design and what can and cannot be learned in the areas of administration, economics, and results of child care. The second section of Chapter III details specifications in regard to characteristics of the demonstration and comparison sites, length of the study, and funding; included is an outline of how to budget the total project and steps to be taken to implement the Impact Study.

Chapter IV deals with constitutional problems which might arise in a large-scale child care system. The first issue discussed is that of First Amendment restrictions on the inclusion of church-affiliated child care facilities. The second issue dealt with is that of Fourteenth Amendment requirements for integration of child care facilities.

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

1. OEO should not attempt to compare funding mechanisms because the \$2.5 million which OEO has allocated for the Impact Study is inadequate for financing a system in more than one community.
2. OEO should sponsor a demonstration of a single, comprehensive child care system in one community. The system should be designed to offer as wide a variety of programs and settings for children under fourteen as possible.
3. The demonstration should ensure that child care services are available to all families who desire them within the designated geographical area without regard to employment status of the mother. Care should be provided at no cost to the poor, nominal cost to the near-poor, and moderate cost to middle-income parents on the basis of a sliding fee schedule.
4. The system should include all currently used child care options. This means that funds should be provided not only for family care, group care, large day care centers, and cooperative baby-sitting arrangements, but also for reimbursing parents or legal guardians who prefer to take care of their own children in the home. Parents who take care of their own children should be paid at the prevailing rate for day-time baby-sitting; poor parents will be reimbursed at the full rate and near-poor parents will be reimbursed according to a sliding fee schedule.
5. The Impact Study should employ a funding mechanism flexible enough to allow for both consumer initiative and central agency planning. Neither a pure project grant system, a pure service contracting system, nor a pure voucher system seems ideally suited to the task. A combination of "vouchers" and "service contracts," a combination we label "vendor payments," seems the best funding mechanism. This system is detailed in Chapter II.

6. The agency administering the demonstration project should incorporate procedures for community control and cooperation with other government services. It should also encourage individual centers to involve parents wherever possible.
7. Health, safety, and nutrition standards should be required for all facilities within the system.
8. The project agency should establish a series of incentives, including both technical assistance and cash grants, which encourage child care providers to provide adequately for children's emotional and intellectual development.
9. In establishing requirements and guidelines for the demonstration site, the project agency should attempt to implement the goals for child care set by the Child Care Forum of the White House Conference on Children, 1970.
10. The demonstration site should be one urban neighborhood of approximately 10,000 residents. A second neighborhood with similar characteristics should be selected as a comparison site. Baseline and evaluative studies should be conducted in both.

I

THE RATIONALE FOR THE IMPACT STUDY

Purpose of the Impact Study

Substantial sums of Federal money may soon be spent on providing free or low-cost child care. One obvious index of increased interest is the number of proposals made in the last Congress which would expand significantly the national fiscal commitment to child care programs and early childhood education. Representative Brademas has suggested a thoroughgoing reorganization and enlargement of pre-school and day care programs (HR 13520) and in April will hold hearings on alternative day care programs. Senator Mondale made a similar proposal (S. 2060). Other efforts were made by Senators Prouty (S. 3480) and Percy (S. 2986) and Representatives Allenbach and Reid (HR 15776), Ryan (HR 657), Mink (HR 4191), Podell (HR 6260) and Diggs (HR 8850). In addition, Senator Long has proposed a Federal "Child Care Corporation" (S. 4101) which would establish a loan mechanism for staff training and for the building of child care facilities.

Even if none of these proposals is enacted, considerable funds are likely to be available for day care. Major sources of Federal funding already exist through such programs as Follow Through, WIN, Head Start, and various ESEA Title I and AFDC programs. State, local, and private dollars are also available for day care; and state and local participation in child care activities might increase if Federal revenue sharing or bloc grants are established.

Despite all this interest in expanded subsidy for something called "day care," there is no good national evidence as to what kinds of care parents actually want for their children, or about what kinds of care would be utilized if they were available. Even information on the kinds of child care parents are currently using is not very good. It is generally assumed that most nonworking mothers care for their own children at

home until the children reach school age, and that they care for children of primary school age at home after school hours. Yet there is no good evidence to document such assumptions. Planners do not know on a national basis to what extent nonworking mothers or fathers actually care for pre-school children, and to what extent they rely on babysitters, neighbors, relatives, or other arrangements for part or all of the "working" day (or evening). Neither is anything reliable known about the arrangements made by parents for school-age children during non-school hours. It is not clear to what extent parents feel that children of varying ages require adult supervision after school, and to what extent children are left to fend for themselves, either at home or elsewhere. **

Somewhat more evidence exists about the child care arrangements made by working mothers. *** A 1965 survey of working mothers with children under fourteen suggests that most working mothers have their children taken care of in ways which involve little or no cash expenditure. Only 20% of these working mothers made arrangements which involved care by a nonrelative; only 2.2% of all these mothers had their children in group care centers. It also indicates that in the absence of Federal subsidies, parents choose arrangements which are informal, physically convenient, involve few other families or children, and are unregulated by any governmental agency.

* Even the forthcoming OEO survey from Westat investigated only reported child care arrangements of lower-income families where the mother was in work or in training. And of course that survey investigated child care arrangements only under parents' present conditions of limited choice, a constraint which has affected all studies to date. ("Demand and Supply Surveys," Westat, Inc., sponsored by the Office of Economic Opportunity, available in Spring 1971.)

** The recent "Survey of Current Child Care Practices, Parental Needs and Attitudes," conducted for the Massachusetts Early Education Project, presents this kind of information for a random sample of Massachusetts families from all income brackets. (Based at Harvard University, sponsored by Massachusetts Advisory Council on Education, 1971.)

*** See Appendix.

This information tells planners little about the kinds of arrangements parents would make for the care of their children if they had additional resources at their disposal for this purpose. One cannot, for example, estimate the demand for free places in large, formally organized day care centers, with well-developed educational components, because such places simply do not exist in appreciable numbers. All that can be said is that few parents are willing or able to pay the full cost of such care out of their own pocket.

The primary reason for conducting an Impact Study, therefore, is to determine what parents really want. This research cannot be done by conducting a survey in which parents are asked to choose among imaginary alternatives, many of which they have never previously heard of, much less actually seen in operation. The only reliable way to find out what parents want is to offer them a wide range of accessible alternatives, and see which ones they choose to use over time.

An Impact Study can also be expected to give OEO more reliable information than is now available on many other aspects of child care: probable costs of different arrangements, possible effects of different arrangements on different kinds of children, possible effects of subsidies on the proportion of parents working and on the proportion of families requiring welfare assistance, and so forth.

Finally, an Impact Study can demonstrate the practicality of funding arrangements which differ significantly from those traditionally used to provide government services. In particular, it can help determine whether a flexible funding mechanism such as the "vendor payment" system (described in Chapter II), which provides for a high degree of parental and provider initiative, can be substituted for the usual project grant system without creating administrative chaos. Such evidence could be of great importance if a massive Federal day care program were to be established in the near future, since in the absence of such evidence, a system of project grants might be established simply because it is a well-known funding arrangement.

The information gathered on the foregoing points will not, of course, be definitive. The proposed Impact Study is not an "experiment" in any scientific sense. Children will not be randomly assigned to different kinds of care, nor will administrative arrangements be randomly assigned to cities, nor will subsidy levels be varied randomly among parents. Comparisons between "experimental" and "control" groups will therefore be imprecise. The Impact Study will cover only one small community, which cannot be representative of the nation as a whole, either in terms of the political forces which influence the success of the administrative and funding mechanisms chosen, or in terms of the economic situation which affects women's labor force characteristics and welfare dependency, or in terms of the availability of entrepreneurs and skilled professionals who might establish different kinds of arrangements for caring for children, or in terms of legal requirements impinging on the system.

The proposed Impact Study will be a case study of a child care system in one community. The case study is an appropriate model for inquiry, given our present state of knowledge. It will allow OEO to refine certain hypotheses and generate new ones about crucial issues in child care: economic questions of supply, demand, and cost; the effects of child care on children, parents, and the community; and administrative problems such as funding arrangements and appropriate regulations.

Critiques of Current Child Care Arrangements

In order to achieve the objectives outlined above, an Impact Study must seek to create a highly diversified set of options for the care of young children. No administratively feasible system will, however, guarantee the creation and availability of all the alternative arrangements that parents might theoretically want. It therefore seems appropriate to try to decide in advance what kinds of alternatives are most likely to be either popular, desirable, or both, and to ensure that the proposed system will make at least those alternatives available.

The available information about existing child care arrangements has been summarized above. It is also important to consider the major arguments being made about these existing arrangements, to see what

new alternatives ought to be created in an "ideal" system. Current critiques of child care arrangements come from three major groups: child development experts, women's rights groups, and political groups on both left and right who want to help people get off welfare. This section considers each of these three critiques of the status quo; the following section will present what alternatives they seem to imply.

Child Development Perspective

Recent research and findings of child psychologists and educators in early childhood development have consistently suggested that the earliest years of life are the crucial formative period for a child's physical, cognitive, emotional, and social development. Environmental conditions during this period such as health, nutrition, and housing, exposure to new experiences and new people, warm and secure relationships with adults, are all extremely important in fostering learning potential, self-confidence and identity, and social skills.

This emphasis has led to a closer look at the environments in which children are presently being raised. An increasing number of mothers are working and have had to make arrangements for their children's care within the constraints of limited options and resources. Most working mothers have not been able to afford privately-run group care and have not been eligible for publicly-funded care. Thus, they have either taken care of their own children at work or have made whatever informal arrangements they could. Many of these arrangements are developmentally inadequate and far too many are physically unsafe. Some mothers have simply resorted to leaving their children home without any adult supervision at all. Most mothers have felt that these arrangements are unsatisfactory; they and their children would obviously benefit from good, inexpensive care near their homes.

It can also be said that many family situations seem to be developmentally inadequate, even when a parent is home all day and can supervise the child. Parental indifference, ineptitude, or even cruelty toward children is often cited; it has been suggested that some of these parents might use child care facilities, to the benefit of their children, were they available.

The idea that child care may have benefits for all children is relatively new. Many people have feared that the separation of mother and child can be detrimental to a child's security, and have argued that separation should occur only under extreme circumstances. The emotional deprivation observed in children in orphanages and foster homes has often been attributed to the fact of separation from the real mother rather than to what happens to the child within those settings. Furthermore, the idea of "day care" has often been seen as a service for poor families where mothers must work and have no choice but to put their children in the care of others. This viewpoint has often implied that a "good" mother is one who is with her child twenty-four hours a day and that a mother who needs or desires to have outside help is somehow "bad" or inadequate.

Much of the pressure for new child care arrangements comes, then, from those who are concerned about the environments in which children grow up. There is much controversy, however, over what should happen to children in these arrangements.

The provision of physical and emotional security is least problematic. A good child care facility can offer safe and attractive surroundings with adults who are sensitive to children. Many children from low-income areas lack sufficient attention to their nutritional and medical needs; a child care facility is an ideal setting for providing for these needs.

Students of cognitive and social growth in young children go further to suggest that pre-school programs of certain types, in fact, enhance the development of children and that child care could be used as an opportunity to make up for developmental deficiencies in the home. Lower-class children seem to benefit from early attention to the development of cognitive and learning skills; such pre-school programs might help reduce class differences in readiness for school. This hypothesis would imply that a pre-school component should be included in all child care centers. A center should have specially trained teachers and a curriculum aimed at the development of competence in specific cognitive, social, and emotional skills.

There is considerable disagreement, however, over whether pre-school programs actually work, and if so, which kinds (e.g., traditional nursery school, Montessori, Beretter-Engelmann, etc.) work best. Certain programs seem to affect certain kinds of children in positive ways. There is some evidence, for example, that lower-class children improve their language proficiency in highly structured, cognitive programs. This evidence does not necessarily imply that such programs ought to be incorporated into a child care system. The research indicates that some children benefit from some programs, but cannot yet identify exactly what is causing the result. Long-term effects of these programs have not been verified. And even if we had this information, there is a real question as to what the goals of child care should be: it is quite possible that a successful cognitive program might, in fact, be inappropriate for young children in terms of their overall development, and that programs stressing social and emotional growth would produce greater benefits in the long run. Given this uncertainty, it would not make sense to require that child care arrangements include any specific pre-school curricula.

When proponents of Federally subsidized child care argue that subsidies would improve the environments in which most poor children grow up, the argument is usually based on observation of a small number of high quality child care centers with many pre-school components, highly trained, carefully selected staff, ample budget, and a generally appealing atmosphere. These centers are then contrasted to the oppressive conditions which prevail in the most disorganized low-income families, and especially in families where the mother works and a variety of *ad hoc* arrangements have to be made for looking after the children. Such a comparison inevitably suggests that children in bad family situations would be better off in good child care centers, and that if Federal subsidies helped move them into such centers, the next generation would have been well served.

The flaw in this line of reasoning is that although child care centers with good programs may be better than the worst families, it does not follow that all, or even most, child care centers would be better for

children than most parents. Massive Federal subsidies would mean a rapid increase in the child care arrangements, but not necessarily a similar increase in quality over what now exists. Indeed, it would probably be hard to ensure any real attention to child development in all centers. And even if we could guarantee the quality of all child care arrangements, we still would not know whether child care was most appropriate for any particular child or family. Yet, subsidies would increase the economic incentives to the more responsible parents to place their children in a child care facility and find jobs, rather than taking care of their own children. There is no reason to suppose that under these circumstances the child would be better off. He might well be worse off.

Indeed, if one's objective were to improve the quality of the environment of low-income children, it might well make sense to try to encourage fewer mothers to work, rather than more. Mothers who work often do so out of economic necessity and their children are often harmed by the inadequate arrangements which are available. These children would be better off if they were placed in an institutional child care facility. But they might also be better off if their parents were paid enough for looking after them, and no longer had to neglect the children in order to take jobs the parents might not want.

Hence, from the standpoint of child development, persuasive arguments can be made for supporting mothers directly and allowing them to take more adequate care of their own children. These arguments can be summarized as follows:

1. Although it is clearly true that some mothers now need child care services and that some existing arrangements are harmful to children, the appropriate solution is not necessarily to institute a new and expensive system to provide quality care outside the home exclusively. Rather, the best answer may be to make available enough money and enough guidance to enable mothers to choose to take care of their own children if they wish. Many might prefer to

do so if they could afford it, and many might do a better job with their own particular children than a child care staff could do.

2. Americans, rich or poor, do not need or want to have the government decide what is good for them or their children. They want the resources to be able to conduct their own lives and assist in the growth of their children. Poor parents want this freedom for precisely the same reasons that middle-class parents want it. If parents choose to raise their own children on a full-time basis, this choice should be available as an economically sensible alternative.

On the other hand, the arguments for an expanded and improved child care program are compelling:

1. To the extent that existing arrangements both in the home and away from it are harmful to children, alternative settings, which are safe and developmentally adequate, should be available.
2. Child care arrangements can ensure that proper attention is paid to medical and nutritional needs and can provide an enriched environment through peer group relations and pre-school programs not usually available in the home.

The pros and cons of this controversy are complex. The essential question is whether it makes more sense for the Federal government to assist American families, especially poor families, by providing improved supplemental services outside the home, by shoring up the family directly, or with some balance of both. Careful examination of the research findings shows them inconclusive on this point. In the absence of clear evidence, making any a priori decision seems unreasonable. Instead, parents should be free to choose what they themselves prefer. If child care were a paid job, and if various types of child care were also available outside the home, parents could decide for themselves over

time whether they were more satisfied working outside the home and entrusting their children to a trained staff, or whether they preferred to be full-time caretakers for their own children.

Women's Rights Perspective

Strong pressure for governmental subsidies for child care has come from groups concerned with the status of women. In general, the argument is that women will have equal opportunities in education and employment only when care for children outside the home is both widely available and recognized by society as legitimate.

The specific arguments made by women's groups vary greatly and reflect different attitudes toward the relative responsibilities of mothers, parents, and the society for raising children. Some groups argue that the state ought to take complete responsibility for child care and establish 24 hour-a-day children's houses on the model of the Israeli kibbutzim. Others argue that the state ought to exert pressure for more equal division of responsibility between parents, perhaps by encouraging a twenty-hour work week so that both parents have the option of holding a job and raising their children. Still others would leave the primary responsibility for child-rearing in the family, to be divided as the parents desired, but would ask the state to make alternative arrangements available. Common to all positions, however, is a desire for state-subsidized child care of sufficient legitimacy and quality that mothers have a real choice of careers.

It is not evident whether more opportunities for women will be generated through putting money into the provision of services outside the home or through allocating funds in direct support of full-time parenthood. It could be argued that women should have free, nearby care available at all times in order to allow them to take jobs outside the home. It can also be argued that child care by the parent in the home is as much a job as any other, and that a system of full-time child care which excludes parental care provides disincentives for mothers to stay home with their children, the job they might really prefer. Many women, especially women who prefer caring for their own children to any other job, would see such a child care system as a further degradation of their status rather than an enhancement of it.

In conclusion, then, it is not clear whether the road to equal rights for women involves getting more women into jobs outside the home, or providing more monetary rewards and status for staying home, or both. It seems best therefore for this decision to be left to mothers themselves by providing both options. Arrangements should be such that a mother could, with equal economic and status advantage, make arrangements for care of her child outside the home or care for the child herself. In this way, all modes of womanhood and motherhood would be equally possible, and a woman's relationship to her family and her children would be more a matter of choice.

Economic Perspective

Many of those who advocate Federal subsidies for child care anticipate that such subsidies will help reduce the welfare rolls. Some hope for this development because they want to cut overall public expenditures. Others feel that public expenditures are essential if the families in question are to maintain an adequate standard of living, but that these expenditures should take a form which allows the recipients more dignity and discourages the kinds of dependency and passivity which welfare often fosters among recipients.

The issue of whether it will be cheaper to provide child care rather than welfare is difficult to resolve, given our present state of knowledge. There are some families, especially those with only one child, in which the provision of heavily subsidized or free child care would enable the mother to get a job and in which the job would pay enough for the family to escape from dependency on welfare. Such employment would not necessarily lower overall public spending, however. Most of these families would still not be able to afford to pay anything more than a nominal fee for the child care services they would continue to need in order to keep their jobs, and thus, the need for subsidized child care would remain. Large-scale, Federally-funded child care programs would almost inevitably have to meet "quality" requirements and therefore be likely to cost at least \$2000 per year per pre-school child, and perhaps as much as \$1000 per year per primary school child. The overall cost of child care for many families in many states would thus exceed the current cost of welfare.

Furthermore, unskilled women are unlikely to earn more than \$4000 per year in the labor force. This low wage means that many unskilled mothers would be earning less than would be spent on child care for their children. Public spending could be kept lower by paying these mothers a competitive wage to care for their own children at home than by providing expensive care outside the home.

On the other hand, subsidized child care services may prove to be less expensive than welfare in the very long run. Child care allows mothers the time to gain education, training, and work experience. Presumably, such preparation and experience will enable them to get higher paying jobs, the benefits of which will continue long after their children no longer need child care. The possible benefits of child care in addition to growing up in a family which has escaped welfare may affect children's ability to perform well in school, and thus increase opportunities in their adult life. If so, child care may contribute positively to breaking the poverty cycle, and public spending may thereby eventually be reduced.

In any case, child care cannot be considered as a simple substitute for welfare; if jobs are not available for those who would prefer to work, a family is far worse off without welfare than with it, even if it has access to child care.

The argument that child care subsidies are better for the recipients than welfare subsidies is more plausible than the argument that child care is cheaper than welfare. But here too the case is hardly unequivocal. If a woman prefers working to caring for children, and if she can get a decently paid job, it is no doubt better to enable her to work. She may get more money; she may get more satisfaction; and her children may be better taken care of. On the other hand, the jobs available to untrained, unskilled women are limited, the wages are likely to be low, and the work is likely to be routine, disagreeable, and often psychologically debilitating. It is hard to believe that all parents would prefer such jobs to taking care of their own children, or would gain more dignity and self-reliance from them. Furthermore, the opportunities for education and training, let alone the availability of any job, skilled or

unskilled, are limited, and some women may have no choice but not to work.

In psychological terms, the effect of Federal subsidies for approved child care but not for parents' taking care of their own children could be somewhat perverse. One can imagine situations in which educated mothers from the suburbs leave their children each morning to commute to the central city, where they hold professional jobs at professional wages, running child care centers for the poor. Meanwhile, the uneducated mothers of these children, having dropped the children at a professionally managed child care center, commute to the suburbs, where they have badly paid domestic jobs in the homes of the professional women who run child care centers. Whether this kind of arrangement makes economic or psychological sense is open to serious question.

In general, people prefer to earn their own way by holding a job. But taking care of children is work by any normal standard and ought to be considered a job in which a parent can take pride like any other. The option of paying parents might be a step towards rescuing the role of "parent" as a respectable and useful one in modern America. Given all the factors which must be considered in order to determine the best solution for any particular family, it seems most appropriate to make available both the options of child care and parent payment, and let the individual family choose for itself.

Diversity of Child Care Arrangements

The lines of argument presented above lead to the conclusion that the ideal system of Federal subsidies for child care would give parents a choice between taking a job caring for their own children and taking some other job while their children were cared for by others. Such a system provides poor parents with alternative forms of supplementary income and might in the long run be a more effective and efficient way of attacking the poverty cycle than either institutional day care or income transfers alone.

No system of Federal subsidies can produce the "right" incentives for every family, simply because there is no mechanism by which any public agency can determine a particular family's effects on its children. Nonetheless, it seems that a system which provides subsidies to parents only if they elect to place their children in conventionally defined day care is likely to be inappropriate in a large number of cases. A system which also subsidizes parents who care for their own children at home is likely to encourage those who enjoy their children to remain at home. Conversely, it would allow parents who want to get out of the house to do so. While one cannot be sure that parents' choices will always be best for their children, this assumption seems more reasonable than the assumption that one choice (day care for children and outside jobs for parents) is always best.

In order to observe preference patterns for various kinds of child care, many options must be available. It is important, therefore, to enable parents to take care of their own children if they want to. It is equally important, however, to present parents with a wide selection of attractive child care arrangements if they prefer to use them. Diversity in size and setting, in location, in scheduling, in age of child served, and in program must be provided if the preferences of parents are to be adequately assessed.

Size and Setting

Child care arrangements can be broken into five categories, including three kinds of care outside the home, and parental care and babysitting services inside the home. Federal Interagency Day Care Requirements establish the following three categories of "approved" day care outside a parent's own home:

"The family day care home serves only as many children as it can integrate into its own physical setting and pattern of living. It is especially suitable for infants, toddlers, and sibling groups and for neighborhood-based day care programs, including those for children needing after-school care. A family day care home may serve no more than six

children (3 through 14) in total (no more than five when the age range is infancy through 6), including the family day care mother's own children.

"The group day care home offers family-like care, usually to school-age children, in an extended or modified family residence. It utilizes one or several employees and provides care for up to twelve children. It is suitable for children who need before- and after-school care, who do not require a great deal of mothering or individual care, and who can profit from considerable association with their peers.

"The day care center serves groups of twelve or more children. It utilizes subgroups on the basis of age and special need but provides opportunity for the experience and learning that accompanies a mixing of ages. Day care centers should not accept children under three years of age unless the care available approximates the mothering in the family living. Centers may be established in a variety of places: private dwellings, settlement houses, schools, churches, social centers, public housing units, specially constructed facilities, etc."

In addition, we may think of two kinds of care within a parent's own home:

Baby-sitting. Many parents prefer not to leave their children outside the home, but still are not able to supervise them personally or else do not want to for twenty-four hours every day. In such a case, a babysitter is usually found to come into the home and care for the children.

Parental care. Many parents prefer to take care of their own children in their own home. Such arrangements are similar in principle to the "family day care homes" recognized under Federal Interagency Requirements, but they waive the usual requirement that such a home provide care for children from more than one family.

Planners do not know at this point what an optimal size is for the various settings, nor have the various advantages and disadvantages of each setting been fully explored. Therefore, there is no reasonable argument to be made for excluding any of these alternatives. Parents should have the opportunity to choose the arrangement with which they are most comfortable.

However, if these five options are to be made available to parents, a thorough review of licensing requirements and funding standards will be necessary. Many current requirements work in such a way as to prohibit the option of home care or parent payment; for instance, some codes require that home care settings meet building and safety standards appropriate to large institutions. Regulations must be specific to the particular setting and realistically enforceable if they are to work at all.

Location

A child care center may be in the neighborhood or "downtown;" it may be at a parent's place of work, in a separate location, or it may be in a home. Parents want facilities which are conveniently located, and, for most, this has meant a neighborhood location. In fact, in one recent study, mothers indicated that they would pay for babysitting or child care close to home, rather than travel a half hour for free care. However, some mothers do prefer having their children near to them at work or study, and it is possible that more mothers will be attracted to this arrangement if places of work begin to establish centers which allow mothers to stop in to feed, care for, and play with their children during work hours, as is occasionally done in Scandinavian countries. All these options should be encouraged.

Scheduling

Those parents who do not take full-time care of their own children use child care for many reasons. Some have part-time jobs or are in school; some feel that the experience is valuable for their children, or feel the need to be away from their children for a while. These parents often prefer part-time arrangements, a few hours a day or a few days a week. Other parents work full-time, out of desire or economic necessity, and child care becomes necessary on a full-time basis. This is particularly true for single-parent families. Child care must be available during work hours with some additional time to allow for travel. "Work hours" may mean evening or night shifts as well as the more typical daytime period.

Age of Child Served

Mothers obviously take care of their own children at all ages. But most presently available, approved child care facilities outside the home restrict their services to children aged two to six. If OEO is to look at the differential effects of various types of parental and center care, this age restriction makes no sense. Moreover, in order to study the effects of day care on labor force participation, care for all children must be provided. If parents must work to provide for their family, they must be able to obtain care for infants and after-school care for young children.

Program

What children do during the time that they are at a child care facility can vary enormously. All programs incorporate certain activities insuring health and safety, such as indoor and outdoor play, rest, and eating. A center which provides only this minimum is considered to be providing custodial care.

Other types of experiences may be included in the daily program. These include the various kinds of pre-school or enrichment programs which are often advocated by child development experts. Because we know very little about the benefits of such programs and about parents' desires for them, the child care system should provide a wide variety of structured and nonstructured programs from which parents can choose.

Summary

In the absence of adequate criteria for deciding that one or another kind of child care is really the best, and in light of the ambiguities of the arguments from developmental psychology, women's rights, and economics, what is really most important to demonstrate is a system of child care allowing maximum parental choice. It is crucial to know more about the patterns of parent preference in regard to the care of children before mounting any large-scale Federal efforts in child care. It is important to know what the family currently wants in the way of supportive services rather than telling it what it needs. It follows that a demonstration ought to include both the chance for parents to be with their own

children and the chance for them to work while others look after their children. It also follows that a demonstration should underwrite as wide an array as possible of currently used child care arrangements and should also promote arrangements which are not yet prevalent but which may well be desirable.

The mixed system which we would like to encourage must have certain characteristics:

1. It must be able both to pay parents and to promote a variety of programs outside the home.
2. It must be designed in such a way that it is easy for private groups and individuals to become child care providers; they must easily be able to obtain both start-up and operating funds.
3. It must be responsive to the wishes of the community.
4. It must hold recipients accountable for their use of public money, and there must be incentives for efficiency and efficiency; on the other hand, the pressure for these goals must not be so severe as to compromise participant parents or make potential providers unwilling to enter.
5. It must provide payments which reflect varying costs of varying types of care (e.g., different per-child payments to centers for different age children).
6. It must provide centralized services, regulations, training and capital loans.

The next chapter deals with the design of such a system.

II FUNDING MECHANISMS, ELIGIBILITY, AND ADMISSIONS

Funding and administering a flexible, diverse child care system entails much more than simply establishing centers. The principal questions become those of defining the boundaries of diversity and encouraging the system to move in certain ways within the boundaries. Three types of devices help shape the system: funding mechanisms, requirements for participation in the system, and encouragement for program improvement. In this chapter, we discuss procedures for employing each of these devices to influence the emergence of that system which seems most likely to provide both interesting information and quality child care.

This chapter is divided into three parts. The first part discusses differences between three funding mechanisms and recommends a combination of "service contracting" and "voucher funding" called "vendor payments." The second and third parts deal with crucial administrative questions: eligibility of users and providers, and admissions procedures.

Funding Mechanisms

A Review of Alternatives

We have identified three apparently distinct kinds of funding mechanisms for child care.

Project Grant. Federal funds go to a single community-wide project agency. The agency defines the needs of the community, sets up the necessary facilities and then hires staff to run them. The agency is like a local board of education, which subsidizes only those activities which it also administers.

Service Contracting. Federal funds go to a single community-wide project agency. The agency assesses the needs of the community and then lets contracts to individuals or groups to set up, staff, and run child care facilities. The agency finances the centers, but they are administered privately. The agency also enforces project standards.

Voucher Funding. Parents receive scrip which is good for the purchase of child care services and which may be redeemed for cash by eligible child care facilities. A local (or state) agency defines minimum standards for the eligibility of the facilities and issues the vouchers. Any child care facility which meets these standards and induces parents to enroll their children is assured of support.

Differences among these funding mechanisms may be either large or small, depending on how they are administered. Suppose, for example, that we compare a typical project grant system with service contracting. The degree of difference will depend largely on the spirit in which the project agency actually lets contracts. A service contracting mechanism could result in a wide variety of different individuals and groups providing child care, some for profit and some not, some run by churches and some not, some operating out of homes and some not, some staffed by "professionals" with graduate degrees and some not. But it could, at the opposite extreme, result in a single huge contract with one major organization to provide community-wide facilities, plus a series of rigid specifications about the nature of these facilities, all of which would make the end result indistinguishable from a project grant system in which the project agency ran the facilities itself.

Or suppose we compare service contracting with voucher funding. In the normal course of events, service contracting gives the project agency much more control over the providers of child care than does voucher funding. In a voucher system, the project agency, after setting its minimum requirements for eligibility to redeem vouchers, must provide funds to any child care arrangement which meets these requirements and attracts children. The project agency under a service contracting system can, in contrast, also have unwritten requirements and preferences which influence who gets a contract and who does not. In a voucher system, it is up to the project agency to show that a center which enrolls eligible children has not met some requirement and is not entitled to funding. In a service contracting system, it is up to the provider to persuade the project agency that an arrangement which attracts children is entitled to funding. But this difference can be eliminated if a service contracting

project agency adopts a policy of making contracts with all child care arrangements which meet its written eligibility requirements, and funds them all on the basis of a fixed per-pupil payment. Conversely, in a voucher system the project agency could set such vague criteria for certifying a center's eligibility as to give the agency as much discretion as under service contracts. Thus, the kinds of facilities which are set up in any particular system seem to be determined less by the general type of funding mechanism used than by the specific procedures governing the operation of the system.

The foregoing examples are not meant to suggest that it makes no difference what delivery system the Federal government adopts for funding child care. There would probably be substantial differences in the long run between the kinds of care which are funded under one arrangement rather than another.

Experience with the public schools suggests that project grant funding is likely to result in a project agency which is not very responsive to parents, even if it has a "community controlled" board. Project grant funding is also more likely to result in fewer facilities and a more uniform pattern of offerings than other mechanisms, since bureaucratic efficiency tends in this direction. A project grant system, almost by definition, rules out private organizations, entrepreneurs, and churches as providers, and would probably tend over the long run to diminish the amount of home care of all sorts.

Service contract funding is likely to result in greater diversity of providers and is likely to be somewhat more responsive to parents than project grant funding, if only because parents can become providers. Service contracting would probably allow individual centers more autonomy in operational affairs than a project grant system. A service contracting agency is more likely than a voucher agency to have control over a city-wide planning effort, and to take the initiative in starting centers where they are needed.

Voucher funding leaves initiative and authority to the parent; it has the psychological advantage of symbolically placing control over decisions in the hands of the parents. A voucher system should encourage

diversity and be more responsive to parents' desires, since facilities will have to attract customers in order to receive funds. But it is unclear whether voucher funding would provide enough incentives for starting certain kinds of facilities or enough facilities in a given time period. Unless voucher values are quite high, it seems unlikely that high-risk ventures--innovative programs, for example, or centers requiring large investments--will be undertaken. Thus, pure voucher funding might produce a relatively conservative system. A pure voucher system would have more difficulty in providing start-up costs and insuring some reasonable period of funding than would the other two systems.

For these reasons, we believe that project grant funding is not as likely as service contracting or vouchers to produce the flexible, diverse child care system described in Chapter I. In addition, there is a more important reason for rejecting project grants as the funding system for a demonstration project. The purpose of the Impact Study is to study the development of a system and people's response to it. For the study to be useful, as few limitations as possible should be put on the establishment of centers or the choices available to parents. Excluding private initiative would impose a severe limitation on such choices. A second reason for ruling out project grants as a funding mechanism for the demonstration project is that it seems fairly certain, from experience with the public schools, that such a system can be made to work. More useful information can be gained by developing a system about which less is known.

Deciding which alternative system should be tested is more difficult. Both vouchers and service contracts have appealing features and both have problems. Instead of examining the features of each in greater detail in this Report, we will develop a funding mechanism that combines those features of the above alternatives which appear most likely to lead to satisfactory results. This hybrid funding mechanism is called a "vendor payment" system; in it, parents are entitled to child care services of their own choice, and a project agency uses discretionary funds to initiate new facilities through service contracting, or to award grants to improve already existing facilities.

Vendor Payments

Entitlements to parents for child care services. Any system will have to determine who is eligible for child care and to generate some tangible document certifying eligibility. Whether this is a voucher, a credit card, or a place on a list is important only to the extent that parents might feel it is important. Because we think that giving parents tangible proof of entitlement might make them feel slightly more in control of their lives, we recommend that parents receive a credit card which can be presented to the center as evidence of eligibility.

Such a decision does not, however, answer the crucial question of whether centers should be reimbursed strictly according to the number of credit cards which are turned in, according to the cost of running the center, according to some pre-negotiated contract, or according to some combination of these procedures.

We believe that the reimbursement procedure should:

1. be simple and public so that people who are considering starting centers know whether they can expect to receive funds, and how much;
2. place the burden of proof on the project agency to show why funds should be withheld from a center which is able to attract credit-card holders;
3. encourage centers to cooperate efficiently and to please their clients;
4. take into account variations in cost, start-up problems, etc.

The first requirement suggests that some simple per-child formula should underlie the reimbursement procedure. However, we know that the costs of operating different types of facilities vary greatly. There are some distinctions which can be made cleanly and incorporated into a reimbursement formula, although a specific formula can only be calculated after the characteristics of the demonstration community are known, and after cost ratios for various types of care are more

accurately determined. The purpose of modifying straight per-child payments is to offer equal incentives for the various types of care we want to provide. Cost data indicate that it is more expensive to care for infants than for older children; and to locate in the inner city than in the suburbs. We want to encourage care for children of all ages so that we can examine demand patterns, and we certainly want to encourage centers to locate in central urban areas. These distinctions can be easily made, and a formula can be devised by extrapolation from current cost data.

Project agency use of discretionary funds. Other distinctions among centers which affect costs, such as educational programs and general "quality," are less easily defined, although equally important. There are two possible approaches for dealing with these differences. One is to attempt to establish categories of quality, and to build adjustments into the reimbursement formula. Because of the great difficulty of defining such categories, however, another approach recommends itself, at least on an interim basis.

This second approach is to define a simple payment formula based on the cost of basic care with a given staff/child ratio, adjusted for age of child and geographic location. Other payments would be negotiated between the project agency and individual child care facilities on a contract basis. A facility which wanted to add an educational component, an expanded feeding program, improved facilities, or whatever, would negotiate with the project agency for both capital and operating funds to do so.

This approach would mean that the project agency would set per-child payments relatively low and reserve a large proportion of its funds for negotiated contracts. These funds could be used in several ways:

- (1) Long term loans. These would be available to any center which qualified for reimbursement of credit cards, at a low rate of interest. They would cover minor physical renovation, etc.
- (2) Start-up grants. Centers, especially large or elaborate ones, may need a considerable sum of money to get started, renovate a building, buy equipment, etc. If there are centers which the agency wishes to

encourage, it may entertain requests for grants from these centers, and grant funds on the basis of proposals.

(3) Planning and issuing requests for proposals. The project agency may see that certain desirable types of facilities are not arising in certain areas. In these cases, it may initiate RFPs and award grants to groups which submit the best proposals.

(4) Grants for improvement and innovation. Centers may want to begin an educational program or physical improvement where costs cannot be absorbed by the center. In cases of programs which the agency wishes to encourage, it may award grants on the basis of proposals.

(5) Central services. The project agency may wish to provide any or all of the following:

- a. transportation - to large centers, to increase the choices open to parents without prejudicing centers against children who have to be transported.
- b. health services - these could include both preventive and remedial health services, and perhaps a central food program.
- c. training - for both mothers and child care workers.
- d. education programs - the agency may purchase materials or programs, and loan them out like a library, or bring children from several small centers to a central location for a curriculum program.

In summary, the funding mechanism should be a combination of per-child reimbursement to any child care facility meeting minimum requirements with additional discretionary funding by the project agency. The agency should set aside a proportion of its funds, say one-half, to be distributed on a per-child basis. These funds should be allocated by limiting the number of credit cards issued to parents, rather than by deciding between more or less worthy centers. The other funds should be used by the project agency to make grants to centers which submit proposals for capital improvements and educational innovation, to make

long-term low-interest loans to beginning centers, and to initiate facilities and services where it is evident that a need is not being met.

Parent payments. We have proposed that parents should have a choice between using a child care facility and receiving payment for caring for their own children. We have argued that the incentives for using each type of care ought to be roughly the same, so that the choice for mothers is a real one. Defining a scale of parent payments which provides equal incentives is very difficult. We do not believe that payment to mothers on a strict per-child basis would achieve this. Instead we believe that mothers should be reimbursed according to a scale which follows somewhat as the number of children increased; increments for additional children would represent the increased difficulty of caring for them, not incentives for having them.

Eligibility

Eligibility for Child Care Services

Before a child care system can begin operating, decisions must be made concerning who is eligible to use the system, and at what cost. Some would argue that the government ought to subsidize the entire cost of child care for all. It seems possible, however, that providing free child care for all income levels would exacerbate inequalities in family income between the rich and the poor. And it seems quite clear that a demonstration funded by OEO ought to concentrate its resources on the poor. This does not necessarily mean that eligibility for participation in the system ought to be limited to those below a certain income. In fact, there are good reasons for rejecting such a limitation. The poverty line is not a real dividing line between those who need free child care and those who can afford to pay the full cost for care. For instance, if the cut-off point were \$4000 for a family of four, it is true that a family earning \$3000 could not afford to pay \$2000 a year for two children in child care, but then neither could the family earning \$4500 a year or even \$5000 or \$6000 a year. A system with an income cut-off creates a large category of families who are too rich for subsidy and yet too

poor to enter the private market for services. This problem has been amply demonstrated in the areas of public housing and health care; the hardships caused to families by being penalized for trying to raise their income level should not be repeated in the provision of child care.

Moreover, a system with an income cut-off provides disincentives for mothers to take jobs or for husbands to advance in their jobs if, once they raised their incomes above the poverty line, they were then unable to afford care for their children. For these reasons, it seems most appropriate to devise a sliding scale of fees in which parents above the poverty line pay a certain proportion of the full cost of child care. The problems of constructing such a sliding scale will be discussed in the following section.

Criteria other than income have been suggested as limitations on eligibility: age of child, employment status of mother, and number of pre-school children in the family. If one defines the "benefits" of day care as the number of mothers working, each of these three criteria can be applied in such a way as to increase the cost-benefit ratio for the system. For example, after-school care is considerably cheaper than all-day care. If OEO were interested in increasing female labor force participation at minimal cost, the first priority for eligibility might well be after-school care. The next priority might be care for pre-school children of families who have only one pre-school child. One could set up an elaborate system of priorities based on the relative costs of care.

Such priorities are sensible only if encouraging mothers to work is considered the most important goal of the system. We have proposed a total child care system which considers the task of improving the lives of the poor in a much broader context. We have argued that mothers ought to have a real choice between working and caring for their own children, and that the general welfare might be better served if the incentives were not designed to insist on outside working.

In this context, eligibility requirements other than income for participation in the system make no sense. From a purely economic point of view, it might be reasonable to limit eligibility to certain types of families or children. In the context of a demonstration project, however,

the objective is to examine what people will do when real choices are available. It is therefore only reasonable to make the range of choices available as broad as possible for all ages of children and types of families. Presumably, the market mechanisms inherent in a vendor payment system will work both to demonstrate which types of facilities are most in demand, and to eliminate those which are excessively costly.

Sliding scale. We have argued that limitations other than income are not reasonable, and that income limitations themselves ought to incorporate a sliding scale rather than an arbitrary cut-off. The problem of constructing such a sliding scale is extremely complex. Several considerations must be taken into account.

It seems reasonable to assume that child care ought to be completely subsidized for families under the poverty line. This, of course, raises the problem of defining "poverty." At least four issues must be considered:

- (1) Certain services and goods cost less in the south than in the north; many items cost more in the city than in rural areas. The definition of "poverty" should reflect geographical differences.
- (2) A family of four with an income of \$5000 may not be considered poor--a family of ten with the same income might well be considered poor. Adjustment for size of family (number of direct dependents) must be made in the definition of "poverty."
- (3) Given inflation, persons with fixed incomes might be modestly well off one year and poor the next. Some yearly correction for the rising cost of living should be included in the definition. Although some definitions of "poverty" include a provision for this, most focus only on the rising cost of foodstuffs. We think that to include only foodstuffs is to underestimate the impact of inflation.
- (4) "Poverty" is to some extent a relative concept. A person is poor in contrast to someone else. In a country where there is generally rising affluence, the definition of "poor" should not be rigid over time.

Each of the above four issues should be incorporated into an appropriate formula defining "poverty,"* below which child care would be completely subsidized. Once this has been established, there are two ways to proceed in defining sliding fee scales. The first approach is to define an upper limit beyond which no subsidies are appropriate, and construct the scale in terms of the cost of child care. For example, the upper limit for a family of four might be defined as \$12,000, at which the family would pay the full cost of child care, which might be as high as \$2500 or \$5000 for the family. The cost would decrease evenly so that at each income level a family would pay a certain percentage of the cost of child care, declining to 0% at the poverty line.

The problem with this approach is that the costs of child care in the system we are describing are so high that almost no families with more than one child would be willing to pay them. The effect of such a scale would be, therefore, to discourage large non-poor families from participating, unless the upper limit were set so high as to be almost ludicrous. But it seems important to encourage non-poor families to participate. There is some evidence that racial and social class integration are beneficial to students. There is some evidence that children in integrated situations are less likely to form rigid stereotypes of children in other groups. Moreover, in this country middle-class parents have historically been able to exert greater political pressure than lower-class parents. Presumably this would help force a project agency to be responsive to the needs of the parents.

* Other factors often considered in poverty formulae are the sex of the head of the household, home ownership, and age of family members. Certainly we would endorse their inclusion in the formula used for this project. There are a large number of poverty formulae. One of the best known is the poverty index developed by the Social Security Administration in 1964 and recently revised as reported in Current Population Report, Special Studies, Revision in Poverty Statistics, 1959-1968--Series P-23, No. 28, August 12, 1969, U.S. Government Printing Office. This revision sets, for example, the poverty threshold for an average non-farm family of four at \$3410. If the family has a female head, the threshold is \$4516. Since these figures represent weighted averages, they somewhat underestimate poverty thresholds in the more expensive parts of the country like the northeast. There the poverty threshold is probably close to \$4000 for the average family of four.

A second approach to the sliding fee scale would be to base it on the percentage of income which people at various income levels seem willing and able to pay for child care. The sliding scale could use this approach rather than the cost of child care as a base. For example, the family with \$12,000 income might pay 10% for child care; the scale would reach 0% at the poverty line and could be extended upward indefinitely. A scale could be devised in which families with more than one child would pay more than they would for one, but in which size of family would be a determinant of the cost of the first child.

Eligibility for Parental Payments

We have argued that all families ought to be eligible to participate in the system, at a cost to them based on their income. We argue, similarly, that parents who choose to care for their own children ought to be paid according to a sliding scale based on income. Three restrictions, however, seem reasonable.

- (1) Mothers receiving parental payments cannot hold jobs. This could be checked through social security records and would provide at least minimal assurance that mothers were, in fact, caring for their children.
- (2) Mothers receiving parental payments should not receive them for their school-age children. Such children may attend after-school recreation facilities, and such care is certainly crucial for mothers who have jobs. But for mothers without jobs, after-school care does not seem sufficiently burdensome to warrant additional payments.

- (3) Mothers receiving parental payments should be willing to participate in a brief orientation provided by the project agency. This might be as short as three days, perhaps one day a week over three weeks, or five mornings for one week. The sessions would include programs on all aspects of child-rearing and the child care system; they should encourage mothers to use the support services of the system on an on-going basis.

Regulations regarding both entitlements to child care services and parental payments should be flexible enough to allow for a mix of arrangements, if this is desired by the family. This might include receiving

half-time parent payments and half-time entitlements, if a mother chooses to work only part-time. It might include child care entitlements for some of the mother's children and parental payments for those she wishes to keep at home.

Eligibility of Centers

Standards for defining those child care facilities eligible to receive reimbursement for credit cards are one mechanism which can be employed by the agency to shape the general qualities of the system. The quantity, type and clarity of standards which define eligibility are, therefore, extremely important. We believe that the standards used to define eligibility for reimbursement should be minimal and specific, that the agency should have little discretion in reimbursement, and that the burden should be on the agency to prove that a center should not receive funds, rather than on the center to prove that it should. Such a policy will mean that the sanction of cutting off funds will be used by the agency only to prevent outrageous violation; it will not be available as an incentive for improvement. Incentives for improvement should, we believe, live for other ways -- through encouragement, advice, and grants of additional funds rather than through coercion.

Minimum standards. We believe that parent choice should be the primary determinant of what kinds of child care are offered. The system should limit choice only for extremely serious reasons and should rely on parents to make discriminations among centers according to their own values. We believe that four areas are serious enough to justify the sanction of cut-off of funds:

- a. minimum standards of health, safety, staff ratios and physical facilities, as defined in state and local codes.
- b. availability of information: The system of choice can only work if parents have information on what is available to them. Because this is so essential, centers ought to be required to supply information to the public, and to open their books for public scrutiny.

c. anti-discrimination: no government funds can legally go to an institution which discriminates on the basis of race.

d. supplemental funds: no center can levy additional charges on credit-card holders. *

Naturally, due process guarantees would have to be incorporated in any procedure by which a center's funds were cut off. Two procedures seem reasonable:

(1) If the presumed violation of minimum standards is a serious danger to the well-being of children or staff, the project agency should act to have the situation rectified immediately (i.e., removal of an abusive staff member), or it should obtain a court order to close the center immediately. If the center does not agree to correct its violation, a formal hearing should be held.

(2) All other violations of the minimum code should be stated to the project agency in a formal complaint which may be initiated by anyone in the community. The center should be notified of this complaint and given an opportunity to correct it voluntarily within a reasonable length of time. Should the center refuse to make this effort, a formal hearing should be held to determine appropriate action. The center should continue to receive funds during this process of adjudication. Funds may ultimately be withheld only if the hearing determines this judgement.

These minimum standards must be defined specifically for a community by the local project agency, since many of the standards will depend on local conditions. The quality standards will, for example, depend on state and local codes; the information and anti-discrimination standards will be determined by the specific procedures the agency decides to adopt in these areas. (Some possible procedures for admissions are suggested

* In a large-scale project the agency might want to require that no center charge anyone other than the credit card reimbursement value. In a small demonstration project, however, this limitation is not practical. Some centers will undoubtedly attract paying customers from outside the area. What they are charged must be left to the discretion of the center.

later on.) It will be necessary for OEO to impress upon the project agency, however, the necessity for these standards of eligibility to be minimal, specific, and public, if real parent choice is to be achieved.

Incentives for improvement. We have recommended that the Impact Study fund a comprehensive and diverse child care system which allows parents maximum flexibility and choice. This is important not only because parents' needs and desires vary so greatly, but also because there is much room in our present state of knowledge for exploring new ideas in child care. One way in which this may be accomplished is to require that centers meet only minimum standards of health and safety; specific programs and arrangements can then be developed and modified according to parents' and staff's needs and desires.

However, from the little we know about child care today, it appears that certain arrangements tend to work better than others or to be more desirable than others. We would suggest that the project agency develop a set of guidelines, or preferred standards, for centers to use as they develop and improve on their services. Centers will not be obligated to follow the preferred standards; however, the project agency may choose several ways in which to encourage centers to consider them.

One mechanism could be an information office which assumes responsibility for collecting all the available information on child care programs and then ensuring that centers receive this information in a usable form. A similar mechanism would be a Service Corporation which would provide technical assistance to centers in developing their programs or solving problems that they might have.

A third mechanism would be the project agency's discretionary use of funds for supplemental grants and capital costs. Guidelines, of course, will have to be developed for the allocation of these funds, but unlike the obligatory reimbursement of credit cards, the agency can be allowed some flexibility in using these grants as incentives for encouraging the adoption of preferred standards.

In broad outline, these standards might include the following:

Admissions

(1) Developmental Programs. Centers should be encouraged to take an active concern for the intellectual, social, and emotional growth of each child in their facility. This would entail frequent staff meetings to discuss problems and increase staff skills, periodic review of the existing program, and consideration of innovative ideas for improvement.

(2) On-going Training. Centers should be encouraged to provide opportunities for all their staff members to develop their skills in working with children. This may mean developing an on-going staff training program, or working out arrangements whereby staff may engage in part- or full-time course work at a nearby university, possibly enrolled in a degree program. The project agency should also develop a program in which individual home care providers would also have this opportunity without having to interrupt their status as providers.

(3) Parent Participation. Parents have primary responsibility for the well-being of their children. Children are often harmed when their experience in child care facilities contradicts the basic values taught to them at home, but beyond this, children gain more by having their parents actively involved in their lives. It is quite possible that child care facilities will be truly responsive to parents' needs, desires, and values only if parents actively participate in, or even control, these facilities. Centers should be encouraged to develop a structure and program which reflects the crucial importance of parents in children's lives. Parent involvement can include parent education, volunteering time to work in the center, parent advisory boards, or parent control of the board of directors. Centers should seriously consider which arrangement might be most appropriate for them to adopt.

(4) Integration of Children. Centers should be encouraged to develop procedures by which children with various differences may be served by the facilities. This includes a child population which mixes racial, religious, and social class differences, and also includes children with emotional and physical disabilities. Children benefit from learning how to understand and accept differences. Child care facilities should not foster the stigmatizing effect of separation on the basis of unreasonable categories.

One question which must be dealt with is that of matching eligible children with eligible centers. The system should provide maximum flexibility and minimal central bureaucracy, and, at the same time, ensure that children are treated fairly. Again, there is a distinction between what the agency will require of centers and what it will encourage. The agency must have procedures for requiring that centers not discriminate on the basis of race, etc.; it may encourage centers to use admissions procedures, such as lotteries, which go farther toward ensuring that parents have a fair chance of getting their children into the center they most prefer. If serious problems develop because of widespread discrimination, or because a shortage of day care facilities means that children are being systematically excluded, the agency may need to require lottery admissions for larger centers.

Another potential problem arises if there is an under-supply of spaces or if some centers offer very high quality programs and become very popular. Such centers may have more applicants than they have room for, and children may be forced to attend less preferred facilities. It is possible, of course, that this will not be a problem. Centers may be willing to expand to include all the children who want to attend them, or equally good facilities may be established to fill the need. If there is a shortage of preferred places, however, an admissions procedure must be designed to ensure that children have an equal and fair opportunity to attend the center of their choice.

Procedures.

At the very least, an admissions procedure must incorporate a few administrative necessities:

1. At some point, parents must register to receive a credit card.
2. Centers must register with the agency, so that their eligibility to receive funds can be determined.

3. Centers must provide information to the agency which can be distributed to parents so that they know what choices are available to them.

4. A list of children attending each center must be provided so that payments can be made and demand assessed.

5. These procedures, and any admissions procedures which are established, must take place at definite times. The length of contract between parent and center, and center and agency, must be defined.

In addition to these administrative requirements, various ways of regulating admissions procedures can be considered, from a central, agency-run, standardized admissions procedure to an informal, center-by-center procedure supplemented by a central clearing house and complaint division.

We believe that parental choice is best served by informal admissions procedures. An informal center-by-center mechanism supplemented by an agency complaint procedure would mean that centers and parents would negotiate informally before any registration with the project agency took place. The agency could provide counseling and serve as a clearing house. It could also conduct a lottery for a center, if the center requested it as a means for dealing fairly with its applicants, and inform parents who were looking for centers where places were open.

Besides serving as a clearing house, the agency would investigate and attempt to adjudicate charges of unfairness brought against centers. It would have the power to cut off funds from those centers found to be discriminating against applicants on the basis of race or religion. The problem of unfair treatment of a child who is noisy and obstreperous, or whose mother is disliked by the center operator, might be best dealt with at the individual level. It may be possible for an agency worker to persuade the operator of a facility to give a particular child a chance. On the other hand, it may be better for the child if a friendly center is found to care for him than if a woman who does not want him is forced

to accept him. Informal arrangements, plus individual case work by the project agency, might be the best system for ensuring that each child was placed in the facility most likely to be comfortable and beneficial for him.

Whether the benefits of a flexible system outweigh its disadvantages depends on how effectively the adjudication mechanism is able to ensure fair treatment and on the relation between the number of children and the number of places in the system. Many admissions issues are based on the assumption that there will be a general under-supply of places in the child care system. If there is an ample supply of places, informal procedures are likely to work fairly well. Neighbors will make on-the-block arrangements in sufficient numbers so that most children will be covered. Centers will also be available for the child whose parents wish to use them or who is excluded from an on-the-block arrangement. A child may be excluded from the facility of his parents' choice, but he will at least have the possibility of attending some other center while his complaint is investigated. Facilities competing for applicants are unlikely to exclude children and face the subsequent loss of income.

Under conditions of general under-supply, however, the issue becomes much more serious. More admissions problems will arise as the eligible children compete for scarce places. A large number of centers will be able to choose among applicants, with the consequence that more children are likely to be treated unfairly. Moreover, a child who is excluded from a particular center may, because of the particular center's admissions decision, be excluded from the child care system as a whole. Considering the difficulties which may arise if there is an under-supply of facilities, more formalized admissions procedures may have to be assumed by the project agency in order to insure equal chance of admission. Some type of lottery system may be most appropriate for this purpose.

There are no obvious disadvantages in using a lottery system for determining admissions to centers of moderate to large size, because there are no reasonable categories of children which a center might want to exclude. No facility receiving public funds is allowed to discriminate

on the basis of race, religion, or sex. There are no educational advantages we know of in selecting children according to such educational criteria as I.Q. There is some evidence that handicapped children function better in a normal environment. Moreover, there is some indication that children benefit from being exposed to differences of all sorts. While there may be a few children who are so disturbed that no center can cope with them, this decision ought to be made by the project agency, not the center.

The use of a lottery system for small home care arrangements presents a different situation. There are legitimate reasons why small centers would want to exclude certain children. When only one adult is dealing with the children, a personality conflict is likely to be harmful to the group and to the individual child. In a small group, where there is no possibility of sub-groupings, the combination of personalities is critical. It seems legitimate to allow home child care facilities to consciously compose their groups. Adopting an admissions procedure which forces strangers into a group could destroy its effectiveness.

For these reasons, we recommend that small centers (six or fewer children) follow informal admissions procedures and compose their own groups. The project agency will have three functions: to register the decisions made by parents and centers; to investigate complaints, serve as a clearing house, and help find places for children; and to conduct a lottery for a facility if it so requests. For larger centers, we recommend that this informal procedure be used if it seems feasible. If serious discrimination seems possible or under-supply of facilities is a problem, the project agency may have to process all admissions through a lottery system. However, these decisions will have to be made in the light of local conditions.

Summary

1. Funding of the child care system should be through vendor payments, with child care facilities reimbursed on the basis of a per-child formula, supplemented by funds granted at the discretion of the agency for start-up costs, capital improvements and educational programs.
2. Parental payments should represent a wage, paid on a sliding scale according to income, increasing only slightly with numbers of children.
3. All children under six should be eligible to participate in the system. Children aged six to fourteen should be eligible for after-school care outside the home, but their mothers should not secure wages for their care. Child care should be free for the poor, and paid for, according to a sliding scale, by other families wishing to participate in the system.
4. Any facility which receives credit cards should be eligible for reimbursement according to the per-child formula, unless it can be shown to have violated a specific regulation. These regulations should be minimal requirements for insuring safe, nonabusive child care, the operation of the system, and nondiscriminatory admissions.
5. Centers should be encouraged, through provision of services and granting of supplementary funds, to improve the quality of care they offer.
6. Admissions should be conducted informally by centers, with an agency procedure for dealing with complaints of unfairness, unless supply conditions or blatant discrimination seem to require larger centers to admit by a lottery system.

III

IMPACT STUDY DESIGN AND SPECIFICATIONS

We recommend that OEO fund a child care Impact Study in one community. Following OEO guidelines, this community will plan and administer a comprehensive and diverse child care system available to all families on a sliding fee scale, including payments to parents who choose to remain at home with their children. It will be funded through a combination of entitlements to parents and service contracts -- a system we have called "vendor payment." In this chapter, we will consider the "research design" of the Impact Study, what we might learn from such a study, specifications for the project which follow from the goals of the study, and a summary of steps necessary to implement the project.

Research Design: A Case Study

In the Preliminary Report, we recommended conducting the Impact Study in three sites in order to compare voucher with service contracting funding procedures, and to compare the effects of child care plus parent payments with child care only. Since that time, the potential budget for the Impact Study has been cut, and we have had to reconsider our recommendations in light of this restriction. Although replication would add significantly to the quality of information which would be generated, attempting a multiple site investigation with limited funds would so restrict the scope of the system as to make comparative information almost worthless. Therefore, we find it most appropriate that the Impact Study be conducted in one site and studied through the "case study" approach. Although it would be preferable to conduct such a study in more than one site, the nature and amount of data which will be available from a single case study is important enough to make proceeding with the Impact Study worthwhile.

The primary strength of a case study of a child care system is that OEO will be able to observe the actual behavior of the participants as they

plan for and respond to the availability of child care services. Previously, child care planners have had to rely on reports of parental behavior in response to limited options and on the verbal opinions of parents about their preferences and need for child care. These are poor indicators of how, in fact, they might respond if diverse, quality services were available. A case study in one site will refine the hypotheses about the amount and patterns of demand.

A case study is also useful for obtaining experience with the administration of a child care system. There has been some past experience with certain funding mechanisms and administrative structures in providing social services. There is some information on the results of establishing various types of child care facilities. This experience and information have made possible tentative statements that certain systems probably work better than others. But the data are limited, and planners do not know how successful these administrative structures and program models might be under conditions of comprehensive planning and adequate funding.

The primary weakness of a case study is the difficulty of separating out generalizable hypotheses from the idiosyncrasies of the natural setting. So many factors operate simultaneously that it is impossible to separate individual dimensions for study or to measure them as precisely as could be done in a more controlled research situation. The data from a case study will allow us to describe with a fair amount of accuracy what is happening. However, statements about why it is happening or whether it would happen similarly in other communities will have to be made with extreme caution.

Although the case study approach does not allow systematic comparison of systems under different conditions, there are two sets of comparisons which should be made whenever they are appropriate and feasible. The first is a comparison over time of data gathered from a base-line study before the project begins with data gathered periodically during the operation of the system; this will allow statements to be made about the amount and direction of change. The second set of comparisons is

of selected measures from the Impact Study site with measures from another community which is as similar as possible to the demonstration site but has not received a sudden increase in funds for child care. This comparison allows us to avoid attributing change to the Impact Study which would have occurred in any event over time.

What Might be Learned from the Impact Study

A demonstration project will provide information on three major areas of concern in child care:

1. Administration: questions of funding mechanism, decision-making structure, standards and regulations, quality control;
2. Economics: questions of cost, supply and demand;
3. Effects: on children, parents, society.

Administration

It is important to demonstrate that a Federally-funded child care system can be made to work so that it provides quality child care in an efficient and responsive manner. There has been much dissatisfaction with the delivery and quality of government-sponsored social services. Services have often not been responsive to the needs and desires of consumers. It is often difficult for local groups to make use of available funds because of the bureaucratic maze through which every proposal must pass. The child care system which we are proposing incorporates both market mechanisms and political mechanisms to encourage responsiveness, and establishes fairly simple bureaucratic procedures. The demonstration project will allow OEO to see to what extent this system is able to provide child care which is satisfactory to parents and children, and will help to locate those parts of the system that need further improvement.

Vendor payments. One question which needs further exploration is whether a Federally-funded system other than project grants can be made to work. There are strong arguments for relying on a centrally organized

and funded system for the delivery of social services. It is probably easier to attain the goals of efficiency, quality control, and fair practices under a project grant system. However, project grant systems have tended to produce impersonal and standardized services and have been resistant to change. Diverse services and individual choice in type of service might be easier to attain in a vendor payment system, and this hypothesis needs to be tested. The key point is to discover whether a vendor payment system can be regulated to provide quality control and fairness without sacrificing individual choice and diversity of offering.

Parent control and parent choice. We are proposing a system which attempts to increase responsiveness in two ways: by incorporating a mechanism through which parent choice determines the amount of funds a center receives, and by encouraging parent participation in the operation of the system as a whole and of individual centers. One question of interest will be the extent to which parents will choose to become involved in collective decision-making for a center, in addition to individual decision-making for their children. A second question will be the extent to which parents' satisfaction is increased by the opportunity to make both collective and individual decisions. The Impact Study will allow OEO to observe how the system develops its own mechanisms for responding to parent wishes, and how the parents respond to different opportunities for participation.

Bureaucratic tendency. One question of interest is whether the system will become more or less bureaucratized and professionally oriented as time goes on. This question of administrative tendency will undoubtedly be difficult to study under the special conditions of a demonstration, funded and carefully monitored by OEO. Nevertheless, some tendencies may become evident: if, for example, the project agency tends to impose more or fewer restrictions on centers as time goes on; if it tends to award supplementary funds to similar types of centers as it develops more notions of what quality day care ought to be; or if its professional staff becomes increasingly involved in the operation of centers. Accurate information about bureaucratic tendencies can be gained only from a large number of demonstrations in diverse cities.

The regulated demonstration we propose, however, may lead to the generation of hypotheses in these areas.

Licensing and regulation. Although we have recommended that minimum requirements be set for child care facilities in the Impact Study, we recognize that the Impact Study will have to be cognizant of existing state and local licensing requirements. These requirements may be appropriate for the Impact Study or they may be waived for demonstration purposes; they may be supplemented or replaced by requirements set by OEO and the project agency. The Impact Study will allow OEO to observe the extent to which various requirements are imposed on the system and the process by which they are adopted.

In addition, many existing licensing codes are unsatisfactory: some are not responsive to the project model, some are not realistically enforceable, and others ignore certain categories of children. The project agency may want to participate in a long-range review of existing local and state standards. The Impact Study will allow OEO to observe the effect of a Federal project on the development of state and local licensing requirements.

Inter-agency coordination. A fifth area of administrative concern is inter-agency coordination. The Impact Study should not function separately from existing child care arrangements or coordinating structures, but rather should relate to the existing structure in such a way as to move toward one comprehensive child care delivery system. For many communities, this long-term goal will entail inter-agency planning, shifts in authority and responsibility, and legislative enactment. The Impact Study will demonstrate how one community moves toward a child care system with this goal in mind.

Economics

The economics of child care are important in view of future planning for child care on a national basis. The issues include the supply and demand for child care, as well as the cost of such care. An Impact Study will enable OEO to observe patterns as they develop in one community and to formulate hypotheses which might be tested against other data and the results of other experiments.

Demand. Little is known about the preferences of parents for child care arrangements when real choices are offered. Planners do not know what influences mothers to go to work now, not to mention what would influence them to choose one or another type of care, or to work rather than be paid for staying home. Most of the available data is derived from the experience of already-working mothers who have had to make their choices within the constraints of very limited resources.

Most working mothers have not been able to afford privately-run group child care and have not been eligible for publicly-funded care. Thus, they have either taken care of their own children at work or have made whatever informal arrangements they could. Some have simply left their children home without any adult supervision at all. The availability of a broader range of facilities at a cost which families can reasonably afford may result in very different patterns of use.

The value of the Impact Study is that parents will have the choice of caring for their own children, or of selecting a child care facility from a sufficient supply, offering much diversity of location, size of center, program content, and age eligibility. These conditions will allow OEO to look at preferences for various types of care, both home and center, in terms of actual behavior of parents rather than relying merely on verbal opinions of what parents might do. However, many other factors will influence the particular preference patterns which will be observed in the demonstration site; OEO should be aware of these factors in order to analyze preferences accurately and to determine to what extent they may be generalized.

First, the design of the Impact Study is such that certain factors will be predetermined. The price which families have to pay for child care will affect their decision to use child care. The Study will be operating with one fee schedule and one payment schedule for mothers, although modification of these schedules may be necessary after a year or two of operation. OEO will find out what parents will prefer at this particular cost, but may not be able to look at "demand" in the technical sense of response to price changes. If another system with a different set of costs to families were developed, the "demand" might be very different.

Another design factor influencing use patterns is the attractiveness and convenience of service. We assume that local planners will be responsive to parental preference for type of child care. However, the Study determines that roughly the same amount of money per child will be available to all providers. A full range of facilities--inexpensive to expensive--will not be available. Thus, OEO will not obtain information on preferences for child care at varying levels of expenditure per child.

A further project constraint is the administrative structure through which services will be delivered. The decision-making structure, regulations, and funding mechanism will all influence what is delivered and how it is delivered, which, in turn, will influence parents' trust and satisfaction with the system and thus their use of services. OEO will be able only to speculate on how demand might vary with different structures and regulations.

Thus, fee schedule for parents, funds available to providers, and administrative structure provide a framework within which the resulting pattern must be interpreted.

A second set of factors which will influence parents' response to child care are the characteristics of the site which is selected, especially the employment and training opportunities for women. Many mothers, whether or not they are working, will send their children to child care centers because they feel it is good experience for children. However, many mothers would prefer to keep their children at home if they are not working. Thus, both the availability and the attractiveness of jobs will influence a mother's decision. Also, the use of new facilities will be affected by existing formal and informal arrangements. If the community OEO selects has a strong network of extended families, the demand for more formal arrangements might be less than in a community where such support does not exist.

Since the demonstration will not be conducted in multiple sites as originally recommended, comparisons of the demand pattern under different sets of conditions will not be possible. Moreover, since no "control" community could be found which would offer comparable incentives to stay home and be paid, comparing the natural growth of

child care facilities with growth induced by government subsidy will be difficult. However, some comparisons can be made. Measures of the amount and type of child care utilized in the site prior to the introduction of the demonstration should be made, together with an analysis of all factors which influence choice.

One final matter must be considered. It seems clear that the preference pattern will change when parents can respond to concrete examples of alternative arrangements. * The Impact Study must continue long enough for the system to become fully operational and allow the parents time to develop confidence in the system. Also, the demonstration should continue for a long enough time to allow parents to make realistic plans for the future. If OEO is interested in determining the number of mothers who use this opportunity to enter the work force, the demonstration period must be long enough for the mothers to receive job training, to look for work, and to guarantee employers that they will be available for a long enough time to be worth employing.

Supply. The previous discussion of demand indicates what kinds of questions about supply cannot be answered by a demonstration. Since the prices paid to all centers will be roughly the same and will be set by the agency, we will not be able to study "supply" in the technical sense. If, for example, per-child costs range from \$1600-\$2400, we will be able to look only at the kinds of centers which come into operation at

* The demand for certain types of child care may be growing. For instance, a recent survey by David Hoffman has preliminary results which suggest that poor parents will continue to prefer family arrangements in any Federally-funded system. But informal interviews with a group of poor parents from all over the country currently participating in the Parent Child Center program (Parents Council, National Conference on Child Care, Alrie House, Warrenton, Virginia, July, 1970) suggested that although many of these parents were initially skeptical about centers, they now preferred them and felt that many in their communities agreed. They were "home-like" and nearby; they could offer the latest educational technology and the most professional staff; and they were not associated with the cramped conditions in so many family settings where children had previously been forced to stay. Attitudes clearly change quickly in response to reasonable, nearby options.

those costs, not the kinds which might arise if payments were raised to \$2200-\$3000. This is a considerable constraint. Under the procedures we have suggested, the market will be limited even further, since the agency will be able to initiate supply without obvious demand.

Even this limited situation, however, will provide considerably more information than is available at present. Most people have been unable or unwilling to pay even a moderate price for child care. Therefore almost nothing is known about what facilities might arise if there were widespread demand for such care. Subsidies are likely to create such demand. Setting a reasonable price will enable OEO to observe what kinds of centers come into being, in what areas, offering what programs, and serving what children.

Costs. An Impact Study can be expected to increase present information on costs. Currently available figures present widely different estimates of the cost of child care; the difficulties of understanding the figures are compounded by several considerations:

1. differences in age of child, geographic location, special needs of children, etc., influence cost figures in ways not yet properly specified;
2. increasing the supply of child care facilities may make certain necessary inputs (staff, building, etc.) more or less expensive;
3. many present child care arrangements rely on barter or donations of staff time, space, etc.;
4. many present child care arrangements which are not now paid for in cash (family care by a relative or under a barter arrangement) will be paid for under a Federal subsidy program.

Even though an Impact Study will force suppliers to operate within a fixed cost limit, useful information should be gained about cost figures, the kinds of facilities which can be operated within this range, and the problems of growth over time.

The Impact of the Provision of Child Care

Three general issues are important to consider: the impact of the child care experience on children; the impact of the provision of subsidized child care on parents; and the impact of the project on the general community.

Impact on children. A central hypothesis of a demonstration child care system is that children will be at least as well cared for in the demonstration site as they would be if there were no Impact Study. Testing this hypothesis involves assessing the physical, emotional, and intellectual capabilities of the children in the community and making some evaluation of their well-being. Such an evaluation will be extremely complex.

The first problem is that of deciding on an appropriate set of measures to be used before and after the demonstration project. Three types can be considered: measures of health, social and emotional maturity, and intellectual growth.

Improving children's health is one of the few noncontroversial goals for a demonstration project, and perhaps also the goal most easily assessed. The efforts of child care providers in terms of the number of health examinations given, the amount of dental work done, the number of inoculations given, and the nutritional levels provided should be assessed. The effect of these treatments in terms of the number of children who contract serious diseases or who are undernourished should be determined by measures taken before and after the child care experience.

Developmental measures are less reliable, and their significance more difficult to determine. Nonetheless, measures of cognitive, emotional, and social development should be administered periodically over time and examined for the possible differential effects of various types of child care.

The second problem is that of deciding which comparisons are most useful. Children in families taking advantage of the child care should be compared with children in families not taking advantage of the services. Children being cared for by parents who are being paid should be compared both with those cared for by unpaid parents and those in approved

centers. Children in home day care facilities should be compared with those in centers; children in cognitively-oriented programs with those in custodial care. The attitudes of staff and various program components should also be considered.

Impact on parents. One of the arguments advanced by many proponents of child care is that it will free mothers to take paid jobs, thereby enabling them to raise their family income or to leave the welfare rolls. Unfortunately, the most important determinant of whether this effect will or will not take place is one over which the Impact Study has no control and which is very difficult to measure accurately, i.e., the number and type of jobs available for these particular parents. Useful information about some questions can, however, be generated, even though it will be difficult to separate out the effects of providing free child care and payments for home care from the effects of local conditions. The number of parents who decide to go to work, the average wage they receive, their productivity and turnover, and the average increment to family income can be compared in the demonstration and control cities. Other indicators, such as the number of parents who participate in community affairs, as well as measures of parents' general satisfaction with their lives, can be used.

Impact on the community. A child care system may provide benefits to a community as a whole in addition to the benefits to parents and children. One approach to looking at benefits to the community is to compare the amount of tax money spent and the size of the bureaucracy established to provide a decent standard of living for the poor under various mechanisms: traditional welfare, income maintenance, child care plus job incentives and training. Many proponents of child care assume that helping women to find paid jobs will not only increase their sense of worth but will also cost the community less. This assumption needs to be examined carefully in terms both of costs to the community and of benefit to the families. Comparisons must be made between the demonstration community and control communities which are as similar as possible in their existing welfare structure and in labor market conditions. Extremely useful data might be gained by having as a

control community one in which FAP was being tested. This would enable cost comparisons to be made not only with traditional welfare systems but also with the income maintenance concept.

An important question proposed by this report is whether the general welfare might not be better served by paying parents to care for their own children than by providing free child care and encouraging parents to take jobs, especially if jobs are scarce. Looking for answers to this question demands a comparison of both alternatives, with careful attention to costs of these programs, changes in welfare payments and increases in overall community income.

Specifications for the Impact Study

These considerations of what might be learned have obvious implications for the design of the Impact Study.

1. One Demonstration Site

We have recommended that the Impact Study be conducted in one site. This will allow for comparisons to be made between categories within the system; it will not allow comparisons to be made among different systems.

2. Comparison Site

We recommend that specific measurements be made in at least one other community with characteristics as similar as possible to the demonstration site. This will allow OEO to measure more accurately the effects which are due to the Impact Study as opposed to effects which would have occurred in any event over time.

3. Length of Time

A minimum of five years for funding of the Impact Study seems important in order to provide continuity for children, to test supply and demand characteristics of child care, and to evaluate the impact of the project on child development and labor force participation.

Continuity of child care arrangements appears to be important to child development, especially in one-parent families where the one parent

works. A five-year project is more likely to establish and develop a continuous child care program for the children involved than a shorter project.

In order to adequately test present and potential demand, parents must be convinced of the stability of any services provided. An Impact Study of less than five years' duration would discourage such consumer confidence and would, therefore, be apt to result in low overall interest, inability of parents to make long-term plans, lack of interested providers, opportunism of various kinds, and subsequent parental disillusionment.

With respect to supply, concluding anything about the relative success of various child care options, both in economic viability and in reflecting sustained parent interest, would be extremely difficult without at least a five-year experiment. If any child care services make use of volunteer inputs, a five-year program is needed to test their "staying power." Further, in less than five years it would be difficult to ensure the emergence of a variety of services, unless such strong incentives and additional grants were provided that providers found it immediately worth their while to open facilities. Clearly such a policy might seriously endanger the generalizability of demonstration results.

Finally, we doubt that the "impact of child care" can be evaluated adequately in a short-term program. To the extent that OEO is concerned with the effect on child development and women in the job market (e.g., productivity and turnover rates), several years' experience is necessary for useful knowledge to emerge.

Planning period. There should be a planning period of six months to a year prior to the beginning of the project. During this period a local planning group must be provided with funds to:

- a. conduct base-line studies;
- b. estimate child/place values of entitlements; establish regulations and appeals mechanisms;
- c. supply information and begin an interested parent listing;

d. recruit suppliers, and estimate type and extent of needed start-up aids;

e. establish inter-agency relations and designate a permanent project agency.

4. Location

Certain general characteristics of the site to be selected are essential:

(1) A target population should be heterogeneous with regard to social class and race. It is important to get an idea of the full range of parental preferences and the kinds of arrangements which will emerge in a variety of neighborhoods. Both require an area with ethnic and social class diversity.

(2) The site should be urban. The vast majority of Americans currently live in urban areas, and the vast majority of working mothers and currently nonworking mothers who want to work live in urban areas.

(3) The site should be a sub-area of a city, preferably a neighborhood within which there is some sense of community identification.

(4) The site should have employment and training possibilities for currently unemployed mothers. One of the program aspects to be evaluated is impact on labor force participation. The possibility for such participation must exist in the target community.

(5) State and local codes must be relatively permissive at the outset for the Impact Study to be useful. Although the project agency will engage in a thorough review of existing laws relating to child care services, this review and consequent changes will be long-term goals and will not immediately affect the establishment and operation of facilities. In any innovative program excessive restrictions and inability to adjust to project needs as they develop could severely limit the amount learned. Statutes regarding licensing of facilities and accreditation of personnel should be relatively flexible.

(6) Relevant state and local agencies should be willing to cooperate in an extended effort to restructure the delivery of child care services.

(7) The area should include adequate child care staff training resources. Although the project agency itself should provide a three-day mandatory aide training program, other agencies must be available to provide further staff training. State requirements may, for example, specify that the director of a center have a bachelor's degree in Early Education and Child Development. The possibility of obtaining such training in or near the demonstration area seems crucial.

5. Population Size

We start with the assumption that the Impact Study will be funded at the level of \$2.5 million per year. We also assume that a successful Impact Study will necessitate that funds be sufficient to (1) provide quality child care services to all children ages 0-14 (or parent payments for children 0-6) who come from low-income families within the target area; (2) provide enough start-up costs, including capital investment, to insure that a potentially increasing demand for facilities can be met; (3) provide adequate training and back-up services from the central agency; and (4) insure the possibility for near-poor participation on a sliding scale. Prices paid to suppliers as well as long-term funding must be sufficient to provide enough security for both suppliers and parents so that they are willing to risk becoming part of the system.

Given these assumptions, the relevant question is how many children, or what size area, can the Impact Study cover. The answer to this question is difficult to arrive at given the number of factors involved, the extent to which each factor varies along several dimensions, and the degree to which these factors interact with one another. An estimate of target area size without a particular site in mind can be derived from statistical averages of costs and population distribution. However, the variation between statistical averages and the actual statistics for a particular community can be very large. Final site selection cannot occur until the project has been costed with data from the actual site being considered.

In the following pages, we first discuss the general problems of estimating costs for child care. We then present a two-step procedure by which OEO may locate a feasible site for the Impact Study. The

first step will be to make a rough estimate of the population range of suitable sites for the Impact Study. The second step suggests a procedure by which OEO may validate total project costs in a particular site.

Reliability of cost estimates. Serious consideration must be given to the numerous sources of variation in costing child care in order to determine the reliability of estimates made for any particular site.

(1) Per-child costs in the project will vary with inner city/suburban location, geographic region of the country, age of child, quality of care, and provision of extra services by the project agency. For example, a licensed, suburban midwestern child care center for pre-schoolers may cost \$1100 per child per year. If the center accepted only infants, costs would increase by perhaps 180%; if it were in an inner city, the increase would be 28%; placement in the northeast would increase costs by 25%. If the center met Federal Interagency Requirements, costs would increase by 55%. These indices are presented only to suggest the extent to which costs may vary. They are also not statistically independent, so that estimates which are made by multiplying index numbers would overestimate costs in an undetermined way. And even if all these factors were taken into account, cost estimates would still have to be modified by idiosyncratic variations in a particular location.

Real costs of child care are complicated by the fact that "child care" includes a wide spectrum of services, programs, and level of quality. People mean many different things when they speak, for instance, of the "costs of a developmental program" or even of nutrition.

Also, there is a wide gap between real costs of child care and cash costs actually paid for child care. Many real costs are hidden; for instance, a benefactor may pay for unbudgeted repairs after vandalism. Many real costs are not monetized: volunteers contribute labor, raise funds, and keep the books; space is donated. Some reports of child care costs fail to allow for the possibility of increasing costs of scarce resources in an expanding program. Other reports make no allowance for profits. And many child care reports fail to consider the effects of inflation. For instance, OCD child care estimates appear to be derived mainly from Head Start data of two or more years ago.

(2) The actual costs of the Impact Study will depend in large part on the proportion of poor and near-poor children in the chosen population. For instance, estimates based on the 1960 census show 1.6% of the national population as poor children under six; nearly 4% as poor children 0-14. Some cities, however, have higher proportions of poor children. In New Haven, for instance, the figures are 2.4% and 5% respectively. If the site is a low-income neighborhood, these percentages may rise to 10% or more.

(3) Estimates of the number of poor and near-poor children in a community must be further modified by an estimate of the demand by each group for the various types of child care arrangements. Existing estimates of demand may not be applicable to a demonstration where parent payments are an option. Perhaps 90% of eligible children will participate, but what proportion will choose child care as opposed to parent payments is unclear.

Furthermore, demand patterns will undoubtedly change over the course of the Impact Study. Demand is likely to be considerably lower during the first year or two of the project, while parents become familiar with the opportunities open to them and overcome their initial suspicions. It is also likely that some parents will not participate in the system at any time, even under the parent care option, because of special problems or lack of information.

(4) Total project costs will vary not only with the per-child cost of care and the demand for care, but also with the sliding fee scale which is chosen. Parent care under our assumptions appears on the average less costly per child/hour, but adds to the total cost of a program because many more parents are likely to participate in a program which offers them the choice of being paid to care for their own children than in a program which offers only the option of conventionally defined day care.

Furthermore, current estimates of cost have been derived under conditions of limited supply; their predictive value may be limited in a situation where adequate funding creates the possibility of a rapid

increase of supply and demand. It is possible that increased demand will result in a large number of efficient providers entering the market, bringing economies of scale and generally lower costs. On the other hand, increased supply may put severe pressure on limited resources such as space and trained personnel.

First step -- range of population size. Component costs of the Impact Study may be divided into two broad categories: (1) entitlements to parents, including parent payments, and (2) funds handed by the project agency, including cost of central administration, centralized services, and discretionary funds for start-up, for capital investment, and innovative programs.

In order to get a population range of geographic areas to consider, we will use rough estimates of these two components.

(1) Entitlements--\$2000 per child per year. Figures for good child care from the ABT study* ranged from \$1200 to \$5700, so a figure of \$2000 is below the average national cost of quality care. On the other hand, \$2000 overestimates the per-child cost of care for the near-poor, since parents will be only partly subsidized.

(2) Central funds--20%-50% of the total budget. Administrative costs and costs of centralized services may run about 15% of a total budget. Assuming that at least an additional 5% of the total budget will be reserved for discretionary funds, but that no more than 50% of the total budget would be allocated for all these categories together, the proportion set aside for central funds would range from 20% to 50% of the total budget.

These figures give a range of child population which the Impact Study could reasonably serve.

* "Survey of Quality Child Care," ABT Associates, sponsored by the Office of Economic Opportunity. Available in Spring 1971.

Central funds + Entitlements = \$2.5 million

Entitlements = (number of children) (cost per child)

20% central funds

.20 (\$2.5 million) + # of children (\$2000) = \$2.5 million
of children = 1000

50% central funds

.50 (\$2.5 million) + # of children (\$2000) = \$2.5 million
of children = 625

Census figures indicate that the relevant child population is approximately 10% of the total population of the target area. This is an overestimation because some families will be ineligible on the basis of income; it is an underestimation because we are, for the moment, excluding children over six from our percentage, since mothers will not receive parental payments for their children over six years of age. Thus, the target area of the Impact Study will fall within a population range of 6,250 to 10,000 people.

Step two -- costing a particular site. Obviously, the estimates used in Step One are very rough and could be totally misleading for any one particular site. Thus, the formula has to be reworked once a potential site within the population range has been chosen, using cost and census data pertaining to that site.

Probably the most accurate data available on costs of child care are in the ABT "Survey of Quality Child Care"; they should be used for all cost estimates. The data were gathered from thirteen child care centers and seven child care systems; the sample was designed to include exemplary models of all types of child care across the country. These data may be supplemented by data available at the local level, which will allow for idiosyncratic variation. However, it should still be kept in mind that the ABT study specifically uncovered the hidden and nonmonetized costs which are prevalent in child care. Most existing child care budgets do not include these cost categories and therefore

local data may underestimate the true cost of care. Thus, ABT data and local data should be used together to arrive at the most accurate estimates possible. In the procedure outlined below, it is assumed that all cost estimates will be adjusted for geographic region and degree of urbanization of the area.

The second major kind of data necessary for a particular locality is demographic data. It is possible that the 1970 census will be available for use in estimating the number of children by age and income in a target area, although obtaining figures for a sub-area of a city may present a problem. Demographic data which is more recent than the 1960 census may be available from local city planning offices and the chances are good that local analyses would pay more attention to neighborhood statistics. However, the major drawback of all census data to date is that income and age of children are rarely cross-tabulated and to rely on marginal distributions as estimates can create serious errors.

A third major estimation which must be made is the demand of various income-level families for the various types of arrangements being offered. The Westat study* and the MEEP study** are probably the most accurate attitudinal data we have on what parents under present circumstances want for their children. These studies should be used as

*"Demand and Supply Surveys," Westat, Inc. Sponsored by the Office of Economic Opportunity. Available in Spring 1971.

**"Survey of Current Child Care Practices, Parental Needs and Attitudes in Massachusetts," conducted by Becker Research, Inc., for the Massachusetts Early Education Project, a state-wide planning project based at Harvard University. This project is sponsored by the Massachusetts Advisory Council on Education. The final MEEP report will not be completed until November 1971. However, the survey data and preliminary analysis are available.

much as possible and supplemented by whatever local surveys may have been conducted. A word of caution is necessary, however, given the possible discrepancies between attitudes and actual behavior. One of the purposes of the Impact Study is to observe to what extent attitudes about child care are an accurate indication of what parents will in fact do, given an adequate supply of child care.

The difficulties in estimating per-child costs, number of children, and demand suggest that cost estimates for the Impact Study made even at a local level should err on the conservative side.

The procedure for costing the Impact Study budget at the local level might be as follows:

1. Per-child cost estimates - child care for low-income families: Potentially six categories of cost must be used: three age categories (infant, pre-school, and school age) and two types of settings (home and center)

Total cost estimates - child care for low-income families:

Each category of per-child cost must be multiplied by an estimate of the actual number of children who might fall into that category. A distribution by age of children in low-income families is necessary. An estimate of actual demand for child care within each category will reduce this figure accordingly.

2. Per-child cost estimates - child care for families on a sliding scale: Child care costs for near-poor children will again fall into six categories. Here, however, the actual cost to the project will be reduced by a proportionate amount at different income categories as specified by the sliding scale.

Total cost estimates - child care for families on a sliding scale: The number of families who fall into each income category on the sliding scale must be determined and a percentage calculated based on an estimate of demand. Costs varying by age and setting would also have to be considered.

3. Per-child cost estimates - parental payment for low-income families:

The local rate for baby-sitting should be determined and pro-rated for families with more than one child: for instance, a base rate for one child with increments of \$.25 for each additional child up to a maximum of four children.

Total cost estimates - parental payment for low-income families:

If possible, a distribution of low-income families by number of children should be obtained, since cost per child varies so greatly according to the number of children in the family. It is reasonable to assume that the demand in this category will be 100% minus the demand estimate used in child care.

4. Per-child cost estimates - parent payment for families on a sliding scale:

The baby-sitting schedule for different sized families will have to be adjusted according to a sliding scale based on income.

Total cost estimates - parent payment for families on a sliding scale:

A distribution of families by size and income will indicate how many families are eligible for what payment. Again, close to 100% participation of the near-poor in the combined categories of child care and parent payments may be expected.

5. Central administration:

Per-child costs and central administration costs as a percent of total system budgets will be available from the ABI study. A sense of how many services such as training, counseling, health, and technical assistance need to be funded can be gained from a survey of existing resources and a determination of how willing these agencies and organizations might be to cooperate on a voluntary basis.

6. Discretionary funds:

Per-child estimates of start-up and capital investment will be available. The number of new child places needed in centers can be determined by estimating what percentage of eligible children would choose a center arrangement and of those, how many are

already in centers. If it appears that most of the eligible children not already in centers would choose home care or parent payments, then the need for new center facilities might be relatively small. A survey of physical space in the area, such as storefronts, church basements, empty buildings, and space in public buildings, should be made to determine how many of these new child places might be supplied through renovation and how many through new construction. A small fund can be set aside for innovative programs.

No matter how carefully the preliminary costing is done before choosing a site, an unknown margin of possible error will remain. This would suggest the importance of planning for flexibility in the Impact Study. At least two mechanisms for flexibility may be considered.

First, some money should be reserved for funding innovative programs. This is the most flexible cost category in the budget; it can be used as a safeguard against miscalculations in other categories and budgeted according to the discretion of local planners. Second, OEO can begin with a relatively small target area and then expand its boundaries if the project funds are not being absorbed.

But finally, we must emphasize the difficulties which may be encountered if the selected site generates too many children for the Impact Study to handle and for the research requirements of the Study to be satisfied. Flexibility and a successful demonstration are possible if OEO's site selection is conservative; success is problematic if the Impact Study is mounted in a community where demand may exceed program capacity.

6. Long-term Funding

We have recommended that the Impact Study be conducted for at least five years in order to measure the full impact of the project. Even if an adequate level of funding could be ensured for this period of time, the problem remains of what happens when the project ends. How can the benefits from a child care demonstration be continued, and how can we protect residents in the demonstration area from the harmful effects of sudden withdrawal of funds?

Several options are open to OEO and local planners. The project agency will need to establish relationships with existing agencies. These agencies may be willing to accept referrals from child care facilities for support services, or they may be willing to donate services to the child care system. Several long range results may derive from this network. The extent to which inputs into the child care system are donated from existing public and private groups may increase over time so that the amount of OEO money needed to fund the project agency each year to maintain services may decrease. During the five-year period, public and private agencies may be encouraged to include child care components in their annual budgets, thereby generating an increasing amount of local funds which may be available to assume part or all of the costs of the child care facilities established through the Impact Study.

Early in the project, local organizations and agencies should begin a long-term review of the existing structure of child care and support services in the community. This may lead to a reorganization of existing resources such that delivery of child care services becomes more efficient and new resources for child care may be freed. The project agency should conduct a thorough review of existing Federal and state legislation which makes available funds for child care, in order to explore alternative funding sources which have the possibility of continuing the services established beyond the five-year period--for instance, Title IV-A of the Social Security Act.

Another option is to consider local and/or state contributions which would be in addition to the Federal funds that have been committed to the Impact Study. This contribution may be cash or in-kind; it may begin in the first year or later; it may start with very small amounts and increase each year. The contribution may be requested for a specific cost, such as central administration. OEO may decide to consider that such a contribution be a condition for awarding the Impact Study contract, making this prerequisite another relevant factor in site selection. Any of these arrangements would encourage a continuing commitment from the local community and the state as OEO funds were phased out.

Summary of Steps for Implementation

OEO Responsibilities (outlined principally in the Feasibility Study)

1. Set income eligibility formula--see discussion in the Feasibility Study, Chapter II.
2. Choose site, following process described in Preliminary Report, Part C, Site Selection, and modified here in Feasibility Study, Chapter III.
3. Choose comparison site.
4. Choose technical assistance group and evaluators for Impact Study.
5. Set additional project standards, beyond standards and minima required by Federal Interagency Day Care Requirements and state and municipal regulatory agencies--discussed throughout this report.
6. Choose initial sponsoring agency for planning grant--see Chapter I of Manual.

Initial Sponsoring Agency Responsibilities (discussed principally in the Manual)

1. Hire community planners to:
 - a. Begin data gathering required for planning and evaluation;
 - b. Survey existing facilities;
 - c. Establish project standards and guidelines for eligibility of users and providers, and for allocating discretionary funds;
 - d. List eligible families;
 - e. Validate or revise per-child reimbursement estimates, parental payment scale, sliding scale fee schedule for near-poor;

- f. Develop liaison with existing relevant services (hospitals, counseling services, training institutions, etc.);
 - g. Start information dissemination to potential users and providers;
 - h. Begin preparation of a manual detailing procedures for becoming a user and a provider;
 - i. Specify policy-making structure of the project and procedures by which board members will be chosen;
 - j. Designate project agency;
 - k. Draw up proposal for funding.
 2. Approve and forward funding proposal.
- OEO Responsibilities
1. Review and approve funding proposal.
 2. Fund project agency.

IV

LEGAL ISSUES

This chapter deals with the basic constraints imposed by the legal system upon a Federally-funded child care impact study. It is chiefly concerned with the First and Fourteenth Amendments of the United States Constitution. Although a variety of state constitutional and statutory provisions and local regulations will also affect the project, they differ greatly from state to state. Specific consideration of such legal problems should be part of the site selection process.

The preceding chapters of this report have described a funding system which we call vendor payments. This system includes two mechanisms by which project funds are channeled to individual child care arrangements. The first is entitlements to parents who hand them in at a child care facility which is then reimbursed by the central agency at a rate appropriate to the type of center and to the age and family income of the child. These entitlements cover minimal operational expenses and provide automatic reimbursement to centers meeting minimal requirements. The second mechanism includes those funds which are used at the discretion of the central agency, following certain guidelines, and are awarded to individual facilities for construction and renovation as well as for educational and innovative programs.

In such a system, ultimate authority to decide what persons or groups may qualify as providers, and to decide general policy questions relevant to the administration of the project, will rest in some official agency. Officials administering the project will be called the project agency.

The first part of this chapter considers the constraints imposed upon the project by the First Amendment's prohibition of establishment of religion and interference with the free exercise of religion. The second part will discuss the degree to which the equal protection guarantees of the Fourteenth Amendment would prohibit racial discrimination in project centers, and the steps an agency must take to prevent discrimination.

Child Care and the Wall Between Church and State *

Religious institutions in our society have long engaged in the provision of social services. They have traditionally operated hospitals, foster homes, orphanages, family counselling agencies, and schools. They already provide some child care services and in many communities must be expected to become vital sources of supply for such services. We might inquire, therefore, whether the flow of government funds for child care to religious providers would amount to an establishment of religion forbidden by the First Amendment.

Some of the most difficult Establishment Clause questions have arisen in litigation over programs of state aid to schools operated by churches. Such litigation has produced the body of case law most relevant to this investigation. But it is worth noting some differences between schools and child care which may affect the application of legal rules developed in the school context. Church schools are run independently of public schools and in some sense in competition with them. Those who oppose state aid to such schools see them as part of the proselytizing process of the church.

Church-run charitable services like hospitals and child care, by contrast, have operated in frequent and friendly contact with the state, relieving it of many important social obligations. One need only compare the smooth and unlitigated functioning of grants to religious hospitals under the Hill-Barton Act¹ or Head Start programs run in churches under the Economic Opportunity Act² with the clamorous controversy over aid to parochial schools. To do so is to realize that this report and that on elementary school vouchers deal with very different situations.³

¹ The prohibition of state "establishment of religion" necessarily constrains programs of state aid resulting in benefits to religious institutions, not to families or individuals. The following analysis, therefore, applies only to child care centers, not to payments made to parents for the care of their own children.

The Establishment Clause, however, applies to state support of religion, regardless of whether the context is schools or child care. The purpose of this section is to demonstrate that allowing religious groups to receive Federal funds under this project--whether through contracts or through vouchers--is consistent with the Federal Constitution. This conclusion rests principally upon three arguments:

First, that funding of religious providers through vendor payments does not confer an unconstitutional benefit upon religion because funds will be limited to the value of the secular child care services rendered by the provider.

Second, that funding of religious providers through entitlements to parents is constitutional because the decision to direct funds to religious institutions lies entirely in private hands. Any aid to religion that may come about under this system would be the result of private choice, not of state action.

Third, that agency contacts with providers will not be so extensive as to offend the policy of the Establishment Clause to avoid excessive entanglement of church and state.

Finally, a fourth argument will be considered: that funding religious providers is not only permitted but constitutionally required if nonreligious providers are funded. The Establishment, Free Exercise, and Equal Protection Clauses might demand that funds be extended without discrimination between religious and nonreligious providers.

Funding providers through vendor payments is constitutional if funds are limited to the value of secular services rendered.

The central premise of this argument is that aid to religious institutions is forbidden by the First Amendment only if it supports the religious activities of such institutions. Aid should be permitted to the extent that it produces an equivalent return in secular services.

The Supreme Court has decided no case inconsistent with this principle. To the contrary, on each occasion on which it has passed upon the constitutionality of programs of state aid to religious groups in their secular functions, it has upheld such aid: Bradfield v. Roberts,⁴

(Federal construction grants to a Catholic-controlled hospital);

Everson v. Board of Education⁵ (state reimbursement of bus transportation expenses of religious school children); and Allen v. Board of Education⁶ (state provision of free textbooks to children in religious-affiliated schools). In the Allen case the Court stated a test of government programs affecting religion: "To withstand the strictures of the Establishment Clause there must be a secular legislative purpose and a primary effect that neither advances nor inhibits religion."⁷ The proposed child care project meets this standard on both counts.

Purpose. The purpose of the project as described in this report is to experiment with techniques of financing and regulating child care centers to the end of promoting better child care. As stated, that purpose is innocent of any design to thwart or further the interests of religious groups and of religion. If the stated objectives of a government program are as clearly secular on their face as are these, their purposes are not easily subject to First Amendment challenge.⁸ A showing of prohibited purpose, therefore, would have to rest on a showing of likely prohibited effect.⁹

Effect. It is here contended that payments to religious providers which are limited to the value of services provided satisfy the Allen test. If the "primary effect" of such payments is to produce a return in secular services equal in value to the payments, no religious activity has been subsidized and no religious interest impermissibly forwarded.

This contention is consistent with the underlying purposes of the Establishment Clause. It is frequently said that the state must be "neutral" among religions and between religions and nonbelievers¹⁰; it must assign benefits and burdens without discrimination.¹¹ The policy of neutrality, considered in isolation, would permit, for example, state subsidies to all charitable organizations, churches as well as hospitals. Yet the Constitution clearly forbids subsidies to churches. The reason may be found in the principle of "voluntarism," the protection of individual choice in matters of religion. The state must not compel taxpayers to support a religion, or religion in general, against their wishes.¹² But that prohibition is logically addressed to public support of the religious activities of sectarian institutions. Support of their secular activities should be permitted so long

as it does not favor one religious group over another or all religions over nonbelievers. If a child care agency certifies religious as well as non-religious providers to receive funds, taxpayers receive the same value in secular services as if nonreligious providers alone had been qualified. Free choice has not been disturbed because the return is secular.¹³

Second, payments for secular services produce no primary effect to advance religion because the true benefits of the program flow to children and parents, not to the provider.¹⁴ In the Everson and Allen cases the Court reasoned that the actual beneficiaries of state programs which bus children to school and supply free textbooks were the children themselves, not the schools they attended. The cases suggest that to the extent that the Court looks for indications of primary effect, it will seek to establish who derives a significant net increase in welfare from the program.¹⁵ It is true that in both school cases the children were also the actual recipients of the state assistance. But it is not necessarily true that for children to be beneficiaries of state assistance they must also be the actual recipients. Funds which are paid to child care institutions to be used for children finally benefit the children rather than the institutions. If secular services equal in value to the payment must be provided, no significant benefits to the institution as opposed to the children will be conferred, assuming, of course, that payments are based upon the number of children enrolled.

It can be argued that the religious provider funded under a vendor payment does receive some benefit. Public funds may improve his center to the point where some children who would not otherwise have chosen a religious center will choose his. Or such funds might free for religious activities church moneys that would otherwise have gone to child care. Both possibilities have been raised by the Court in school cases and both dismissed as not affecting the validity of aid programs.¹⁶ As the Court has pointed out in other contexts, hardly any general welfare legislation could survive if forbidden to confer incidental benefits and burdens on religion.¹⁷ A good many Federal dollars pass at some point through religious hands, but this fact alone does not make their expenditure unconstitutional.

Two recent cases in church-state law reinforce the foregoing analysis. In Lemon v. Kurtzman,¹⁸ a three-judge district court sustained the constitutionality of Pennsylvania's plan to purchase secular courses from parochial schools. The Court accepted at face value the Pennsylvania legislature's declaration of a purpose to improve the quality of secular education, declining the plaintiff's invitation to search the legislative history for evidence of a primary motive to subsidize religion.¹⁹ As for the effect of the plan, the Court held that, under Allen, aid to parochial schools is permissible so long as public funds are paid only for a return in secular services.²⁰ It also rejected the argument that school children were not the true beneficiaries of the plan because they were not the recipients of the funds:

The child and society generally benefit from the improvement of the secular education the child receives whether or not there is a direct payment to him or to his parents or to the school or teachers. In our view the constitutional result should not and cannot wholly depend upon the identity of the payee. The use to which the funds are put must be the primary concern.²¹

Of less obvious but possibly greater relevance is a second recent case, Walz v. New York Tax Commission,²² in which the Supreme Court approved exemption of churches from state ad valorem property taxes. Such exemptions confer a significant economic benefit upon even the religious activities of sectarian institutions; some churches could probably not survive without them. The Court reconciled them to the Establishment Clause by redefining, in effect, the establishment of religion as not simply incidental support of religion, but as actual state "sponsorship" of religion.²³ Passive support of religious activities, along with other activities, was held permissible so long as it is unaccompanied by excessive state involvement in the internal affairs of religious orders.²⁴ (This "anti-involvement" aspect of Walz will be discussed further below.)

The Walz Court seems to put to rest one of the most frequently advanced objections to aid to the secular activities of sectarian institutions: that such aid will inevitably lead to the establishment of religion. Noting that exemptions have lasted two centuries, the Court commented that

"[i]f tax exemption can be seen as [a] first step toward 'establishment' of religion, the second step has been long in coming. Any move which realistically 'establishes' a church or tends to do so can be dealt with 'while this Court sits.'"²⁵

Indirect funding of religious providers through entitlements to parents is not an unconstitutional aid to religion because any assistance to religious institutions results from the private choice of individuals and not from the decision of the state.

The preceding section undertook to demonstrate that funding of religious providers under this system would not offend the First Amendment if payments to providers were limited to the value of secular services received.

But a vendor payment system should be permissible for yet another reason. Entitlements give control over the use of child care funds to parents. The power to choose providers shifts from the state to private hands. The Constitution forbids state support of religion, not private support. Indeed it forbids state interference with the private support of religion. For, as has been pointed out, the counterpart of the command that the state must be neutral among religions is the command that it may not interfere with the voluntary religious preferences of private citizens.

These complementary policies of neutrality and voluntarism lie at the core of the cases forbidding official prayers²⁶ and "released time" religious instruction²⁷ in the public schools. In each case, the state was found to promote purely religious activity, in violation of the neutrality policy. In each case, too, it was found to constrain individual preferences in matters of religion, in violation of the policy of voluntarism.

An entitlement approach to financing child care maximizes both policies. The state neither fosters nor prevents choices between religion and nonreligion or among religions. At the same time parents remain free to select or reject providers of child care services who happen also to be connected to religious groups.

Under this approach, the agency serves essentially as a bank. It holds the funds for, and makes payments as directed by, private individuals (parents). It exercises no control over the choice of the recipient. Some would argue that, under these conditions, even if some funds were eventually to support religious activities of providers, the result would be acceptable. It is argued that the basic decision to direct funds to religions or to secular providers is private, not public; and therefore that the funds are ultimately paid out of the public treasury should be of no particular consequence. Nothing prevents recipients of Social Security for example, from donating those funds to churches or beneficiaries of veterans' assistance from paying tuition to sectarian colleges. The agency maintains its legitimate interest in ensuring that funds are, in fact, expended on child care. But that interest springs from the program's objectives; it is not mandated by the First Amendment.

Agency regulation of providers will not entangle the State to an unconstitutional degree in religious matters but to a limited extent in oversight of secular services.

Another policy of the religion clauses contained in the First Amendment is avoidance of excessive involvement of church and state in each other's affairs.²⁸ The boundaries of this policy are vague; certainly as to how much involvement is excessive is elusive. The purpose of this section is to examine the contacts that an administering agency must maintain with religious providers and to assess their constitutional significance.

In a regulated project like the one proposed in this report, the project agency will maintain contact with providers in several ways:

1. The project agency will pass on providers' applications for certification to receive project funds and for the licenses required by virtually all states for providers of child care. The agency may also conduct periodic inspections of providers' books, records, and facilities to ensure compliance with agency and state requirements.

2. The project agency might need to satisfy itself that religious providers supply secular services at least roughly equal in value to the payments for those services and that project funds are not diverted to religious activities.
3. The agency may wish to make grants directly to providers to cover costs of construction and renovation of centers in order to bring them up to project standards.

General regulatory power. The first of these should pose no First Amendment problems. The state maintains such contacts with religious institutions as a matter of course in the exercise of its police powers. It enforces fire, safety, and health regulations. It sets qualification levels for professionals wherever employed. With respect to religious schools, courts have long upheld the states' power to ensure that they meet secular education standards: states may prescribe qualifications of teachers, specify minimum curricular content, and examine students and teachers.²⁹

An impermissible entanglement of church and state would more likely result from the other activities.

Policing for secularity. State funds flowing to a religious provider arguably may not be used to pay for strictly religious activities. Some of the provider's services, however, may not be easily identifiable as religious or secular, as when reading is taught through books with religious content. The project agency might attempt to determine what proportion of a center's costs were devoted to secular and what proportion to religious activities, and reimburse the center only for the secular component. Admittedly, making such a distinction would be extremely difficult and would require careful scrutiny of the center and its program. Confronted with this task, an agency might attempt to ban religious content entirely from the center. This approach, however, does not solve the problem, since it raises problems of agency entanglement with a religious institution and of possible interference with free exercise of religion.

These difficulties are probably not as acute as they first appear. First, the Constitution obviously does not forbid the state from distinguishing between the secular and the religious. As fine as such distinctions sometimes are, they are also inevitably involved in First Amendment questions. Several approaches to the task of making such distinctions are possible. The agency could, for example, evaluate the secular content of ambiguous activities and pay the center only for so much as it thought secular. This would place the burden on the provider to prove that the activity was secular and perhaps create an incentive in that direction. But it would not require such decisions.³⁰ Second, the agency need not enforce rules prohibiting excess religion, it need only ensure a rough equality between the payment for and the cost of secular activities.

Finally, much of a center's output is likely to be secular under any definition: lunches, medical care, toys, furniture, babysitting services. As a practical matter, then, the areas of ambiguity could well be few, thus reducing the burden of judgment and involvement.

Grants for construction or renovation. Perhaps the most difficult case arises when a center operates in a church building. Construction or renovation with public funds of premises to be used part of the time for purely religious activities may be held to have a prohibited primary effect of aid to religion.³¹ Unlike cash, construction cannot easily be allocated between secular and religious activity.³²

Yet the problem might be solvable. In the case of minor repairs - painting, installing a toilet etc. - no constitutional problems are likely to arise. The real problem occurs if a religious institution undertakes major renovation of facilities which might also be used for religious purposes. A possible legal solution is that the agency itself could rent the premises for part-time use as a child care center. State courts have usually upheld such leases if they are at fair rental value.³³ As lessee, the agency could make the necessary improvements, assign the lease to the child care center and specify that, at the termination of the lease, it must be compensated for the value of improvements then accruing to the benefit of the church. This scheme might not entirely prevent leakage of some benefits to religious activity; religious as well as

secular functions of the provider could take place under the same roof. But it considerably reduces those benefits, arguably to the point where they become incidental and thus harmless.³⁴

In general, however, a more prudent agency policy would be the relocation of providers off church premises. If the premises are used only for the provision of child care, grants for construction and renovation should produce a fair secular return in improvement of facilities with only insignificant benefits to religion. Another, less desirable, alternative is simply to close child care facilities in churches to all religious activities. This, however, might be thought excessively to burden religious activity in violation of the Free Exercise Clause.

The impact of Walz. At this point it is useful to consider whether the above discussion of church-state entanglement must be modified in view of the Supreme Court's decision of Walz v. New York Tax Commission,³⁵ which upheld exemption of churches from property taxes. The Court's apparently altered interpretation of the Establishment Clause was mentioned above.³⁶ A portion of the decision is specifically relevant here. Confronted with a choice between taxing the churches and exempting them, the Court said:

In analyzing either alternative the questions are whether the involvement is excessive, and whether it is a continuing one calling for continuing and official surveillance leading to an impermissible degree of entanglement.³⁷

The Court then (in dicta) contrasted exemption with subsidy.

Obviously a direct money subsidy would be a relationship pregnant with involvement and, as with most governmental grant programs, could encompass sustained and detailed administrative relationships for enforcement of statutory and administrative standards, but that is not this case.

The generality of the language here masks the relative narrowness of the Court's remarks about excessive involvement. In Walz, it faced the task of reconciling a substantial indirect benefit to religion with the First Amendment. It did so principally by defining "establishment" as

state "sponsorship" of religious activity. In its search for indications of the presence or absence of sponsorship, the Court notes the minimal state contact arising out of tax exemption as contrasted with subsidies.

But nothing in Walz indicates that the Court meant that state involvement (beyond the slight level incident to tax exemption) in the secular activities of religious institutions violates the First Amendment. Busing parochial school students or lending them textbooks involves the state with religious institutions more than not doing so. But the involvement is in presumably secular activities. Thus, entanglement appears to be a crucial test of constitutionality only when state policy substantially benefits religious groups in their religious function.

Does the Constitution require funding of religious as well as nonreligious providers?

The analysis so far has assumed that if the Constitution permits the project agency to support providers with religious affiliations, it still could choose not to do so. Yet there is at least some reason to argue that the agency could not distinguish between religious and nonreligious providers which met its general standards. Refusal to qualify an otherwise acceptable provider raises a potential conflict with the constitutional policy of noninterference in individual religious preferences. This is particularly so where the system operates through entitlements and the center is, therefore, chosen by an individual parent. In Sherbert v. Verner,³⁹ the Supreme Court held unconstitutional the withholding of unemployment compensation benefits from a Seventh Day Adventist who refused to accept a job which required her to work on Saturday, the Sabbath Day of her faith. The state had thus impermissibly burdened her religious convictions in violation of the Free Exercise Clause. Similarly, it is arguable that to withhold funds from religious providers would force the parent whose scruples require that his child be placed in a sectarian center either to forego that choice or to finance it himself--a burden not imposed on others.

The Free Exercise Clause does not demand that in every case the state accommodate itself fully to the compulsions of individual conscience. Sunday closing laws, for example, may prevent Orthodox Jewish

merchants from operating both on Sunday and on their Sabbath.⁴⁰ But that is because such laws are held to fulfill an independent secular purpose which is neutral between religion and nonreligion, and because making exceptions in favor of religious groups might seriously disturb the workings of a regulatory scheme. Neither reason seems persuasive in this context. A general neutral purpose is apparently absent in a policy of refusal to qualify religious providers solely upon the grounds of religion. In addition, qualifying religious as well as nonreligious providers would more likely ease rather than disrupt the administrative burden of operating the project.

Child Care and Racial Discrimination. *

When the government provides social services by arranging for their performance by private groups, understandable concern arises that racial segregation and discrimination will increase. Controlling racial discrimination in public agencies is a painful uphill struggle; and the difficulty mounts where a multitude of private providers are involved. This section, therefore, will consider the extent to which the Fourteenth Amendment's strictures against racial discrimination apply to private provision of child care services, and the procedures that an agency administering a publicly supported child care project should, and in some instances must, adopt to ensure compliance.

Relevance of education cases. As with the religion clauses of the First Amendment, the most relevant case law to child care has been developed in litigation concerning public schools or segregated private schools operated as alternatives to public schools. Those cases form the basis of our discussion. Because there are potentially significant legal differences between the two contexts, an explanation of the relevance of

* Parents caring only for their own children are obviously incapable of unconstitutional discrimination among them. This part, therefore, concerns only those facilities caring for children of more than one family.

the school cases may be useful.

To begin, the courts have not singled out child care for special treatment. On the basis of "largely subjective judgments,"⁴¹ recent equal protection decisions have held that the Court's interest in equality of access to certain social goods is so fundamental that alleged discrimination against persons seeking access to them will be subject to unusually searching review.⁴² Voting, education, and to a lesser degree employment have been held to be among these interests. Welfare has not: a recent Supreme Court case seems to have authorized a permissive standard of review in cases of differing welfare benefits.⁴³ Thus to the extent that provision of child care to indigent parents resembles welfare it might be viewed differently from education. But while this difference suggests a more permissive standard of review in nonracial child care discrimination cases, it is hardly likely to affect cases involving race. Racial discrimination is usually considered so invidious that it will elicit strict review even when it affects relatively less important social interests.⁴⁴

Another difference is that numerous jurisdictions with a history of de jure segregation are already under a positive injunction to end publicly supported dual school systems. There is no reason to suppose that as child care facilities become more numerous such jurisdictions will be under any lesser obligation to integrate them. Moreover, the premise of the school cases, that racial segregation does severe psychological damage to children and perpetuates social inequities,⁴⁵ would seem to apply with equivalent force to preschool child care. Judicial hostility to dual systems of child care, therefore, seems predictable.

Of course, school segregation will likely continue to give rise to more litigation, if only because schools tend to be large, central, and attended by children old enough to articulate their grievances. Child care centers may occupy family apartments and serve only a few infants. Yet this only points out that purposeful discrimination will be hard to detect if it occurs in dozens of small centers. It provides no basis for assuming substantial differences between legal standards applicable to schools and child care centers.

For these reasons the remainder of this chapter will assume the relevance to child care of the equal protection doctrine developed in the school segregation cases.⁴⁶

We will consider segregation resulting from three situations:

(1) agency actions whose purpose is to aid centers deliberately organized to exclude children on the basis of race; (2) agency actions which inadvertently aid such centers; and (3) situations in which neither centers nor the agency administering them intentionally excludes children on racial grounds, but which nonetheless result in segregated centers.

Neither the Federal government nor the states may adopt a policy of maintaining racially segregated centers.⁴⁷ In school cases, courts have classified racial segregation as de jure (resulting from state law or administrative action) or de facto (resulting by chance). While courts hold de jure segregation unconstitutional, they have so far avoided the same conclusion on de facto segregation.⁴⁸ Where de jure segregation is found, state or local authorities are constitutionally required to end it,⁴⁹ with the consequence that in such jurisdictions complaints of segregation are subject to stricter judicial review than elsewhere. In acknowledgment of this distinction, each of the three sections in this part discusses the law both in jurisdictions under court order to disestablish de jure segregation and in all other jurisdictions.

Agency action whose purpose is to aid centers organized to exclude children on the basis of race is unconstitutional.

State action designed to assist public or private groups to maintain segregated facilities is unconstitutional, even when such assistance is indirectly tendered by means of entitlements to parents.⁵⁰ In judging the purpose of any project, the courts will look both to its legislative history and setting and to its actual or probable effect. If either indicates a purpose to aid segregation, the project will be struck down.⁵¹ So far all of the school cases finding such a purpose have arisen in jurisdictions in which de jure segregation had already been found. This may be simply because implication of purpose is easier to discover from setting and effect in those jurisdictions than in others; since courts hesitate to examine legislative motives, improper purpose is difficult to prove unless

it is blatant. Actual proof of a purpose to assist segregation would nevertheless invalidate a project in any jurisdiction.

Courts are also likely to find unconstitutional agency actions whose purpose or actual effect is to aid centers organized to exclude children on racial grounds.

Even if the purpose of a child care system is not to assist centers to discriminate, a court could cut off aid to centers with a policy of purposeful racial discrimination. Centers funded through vendor payments from the project agency would certainly be considered sufficiently "public" to be subject to the same legal restraints as the agency itself.

State action. The Fourteenth Amendment forbids only discriminatory "state action," not private discrimination. But in recent years the concept of state action has been enlarged so as to cover a wide variety of apparently "private" undertakings. If it can be established that a "public function" which might ordinarily be performed by the state has been delegated to a private body, that body is subject to the Fourteenth Amendment.⁵² Or if the private body is closely linked to the state through licensing, regulation, and derivation of significant financial support, it will be held to the same equal protection standards as a state agency.⁵³

Centers funded by the state could be held accountable through the doctrine of state action under either theory. Whatever mode of financing the project agency chooses, it delegates to private groups the task of performing social services it might have performed. The agency, furthermore, is an important, if not the chief,⁵⁴ financial supporter of the centers; it also certifies, licenses, and regulates them. A court finding purposeful discrimination in any center could therefore be expected to treat the center as it would a subdivision of the state. It might order the center, as courts have ordered school boards, to integrate forthwith. Or, if the court concluded that, as a practical matter, an order to integrate could not effectively be enforced, it might enjoin the operation of the center.⁵⁵

No aid doctrine. Even if a court concluded that centers were insufficiently involved with the state to be subject to the same treatment as state agencies, the court might bar the project agency from extending any aid to racially segregated centers. In jurisdictions where there has been a previous finding of de jure segregation, some courts have held that state aid in support of private discrimination is unconstitutional, even without a showing of a state purpose to discriminate.⁵⁶ So far this doctrine has not been extended to other jurisdictions. But state action which leads to racial discrimination is surely as harmful as state support of past segregation.

The courts are just as likely to declare providing state funds to discriminatory centers unconstitutional in the north as they are in the south, even though purposeful support of segregation may be harder to prove. It is possible that northern as well as southern districts will be required to show that they have taken positive action to prevent segregation in order to disprove a charge of state complicity in discrimination by centers.⁵⁷ The most prudent course is to assume that the same standards should be applied to all jurisdictions, and to require that all child care projects institute strong procedures to prevent racial discrimination by centers.

Agency actions whose effect is to aid centers segregated in fact, though not as a matter of policy, may be unconstitutional if adopted by jurisdictions under court order to integrate. In other jurisdictions they are probably constitutional.

So far this chapter has been concerned with projects which intentionally aid centers which purposefully discriminate, and with projects which inadvertently aid centers which purposefully discriminate. It has concluded that such aid, whether knowing or inadvertent, is almost certain to be held unconstitutional in jurisdictions with experience of de jure segregation, and likely to be held unconstitutional in other jurisdictions.

A special problem arises in jurisdictions under order to end segregation. There the fact of segregation, even unaccompanied by evidence of design on the part of the project agency or center, may prevent aid to centers in which segregation is present.⁵⁸ The reason for this situation

is a strong presumption that, in such jurisdictions, segregation has not resulted from "chance" factors such as neighborhood housing patterns. Funding of centers under a plan by which parents had entirely unrestricted choice about where to place their children might therefore be treated like the so-called "freedom of choice" plans of some states, and struck down. The Supreme Court has held that freedom of choice plans are unconstitutional wherever there are "reasonably available other ways... promising speedier and more effective conversion to a unitary, nonracial school system."⁵⁹ Hence it is critically important that a child care agency in such a jurisdiction devise procedures to avoid the presumption and obviously true existence of deliberate segregation. Suggested procedures are discussed below.

In other jurisdictions the situation of centers segregated in fact is tied to the legal status of *de facto* segregation. So far the consensus of courts in northern school cases has been that segregation is unconstitutional only if it results from purposeful state action.⁶⁰ Yet even in these jurisdictions, it is quite possible that such purposeful action can be implied from the conduct of agency and centers. We now turn to a discussion of the ways the agency can assure compliance with the requirements of the Equal Protection Clause.

Ensuring Compliance With Equal Protection

This discussion has argued that private providers of child care funded and regulated by the state may not discriminate racially. They must deal with parents and children seeking access to centers in the same manner as a government agency.

The minimal obligation of the project agency is to inform providers of their duty not to discriminate. Furthermore, the informing process must have some strength. Courts, as argued above, will cut off funds or enjoin the operation of any center which purposefully maintains segregated facilities. The agency should, therefore, develop relevant administrative sanctions of its own, both as a matter of law and as desirable policy.

One approach would require compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 as a condition of holding a child care license.

Section 601 of Title VI provides:

No person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance.

Section 602 authorizes each Federal agency administering a program of Federal financial assistance to enforce these provisions by regulation and sanctions such as refusal or termination of assistance or "any other means authorized by law."

The general admonitions of Title VI should be refined to cover specific processes of the project in which discrimination might occur. The project agency should forbid discrimination in admissions, recruitment, treatment of children, and expulsions. It should proscribe application forms which attempt to elicit information as to race, and public announcements of the availability of places which indicate racial preferences. Enforcement mechanisms should also be made more specific, and should include authority to investigate complaints of segregation, to initiate investigations even in the absence of such complaints, and to cut off funds to centers which are found to discriminate.

Yet, at least in jurisdictions in which there has been a previous finding of *de jure* segregation, the procedure described above may not adequately comply with the law, nor take full account of the practical situation. Especially if centers are funded through a vendor payment system, the task of policing numerous small providers of child care for violations of Title VI may be thought impossibly onerous, and therefore unlikely to provide genuine safeguards against segregation.⁶¹ Furthermore, as has been pointed out, courts in jurisdictions under order to end dual systems may prohibit aid to segregated centers even without a showing of illicit purpose. The need is for a procedure which adequately protects the project against its being used to further or perpetuate segregation, as well as against judicial suspicion of such a purpose.

FOOTNOTES

1. 42 U.S. Code secs. 291 et seq.
2. 42 U.S. Code secs. 2781 et seq.
3. Education Vouchers: A Preliminary Report on Financing Education Through Payments to Parents (1970), hereinafter Education Vouchers.
4. 175 U.S. 291 (1899).
5. 330 U.S. 1 (1947).
6. 392 U.S. 236 (1968).
7. Id. at 243, citing School Dist. of Abington v. Schempp, 374 U.S. 203, 223 (1963).
8. See, e.g., Williamson v. Lee Optical Co., 348 U.S. 483 (1955).
9. See, e.g., Gornillion v. Lightfoot, 364 U.S. 399 (drawing of municipal boundaries with the effect of excluding Negroes from benefits of residence is evidence of purpose to discriminate). Similarly, if only religious providers qualified for funds, proof of an improper purpose to aid religion might be made out.
10. Everson v. Board of Education, 330 U.S. 1, 15 (1947); Torcaso v. Watkins, 367 U.S. 488, 495 (1961).
11. McGowan v. Maryland, 366 U.S. 420 (1961). "Neutrality" has some limits. It does not forbid some accommodation to religion as such, Zorack v. Claason, 343 U.S. 306 (1952). Moreover the Free Exercise Clause requires some accommodation to religion as such, Sherbert v. Verner, 374 U.S. 398 (1963).
12. Engel v. Vitale, 370 U.S. 421, 442 (1962) (Douglas, J. concurring); McGowan v. Maryland, 366 U.S. 420 (1961); Everson v. Board of Education, 330 U.S. 1, 8 (1947).
13. For a full and comprehensive elaboration of this argument, see Choper, "The Establishment Clause and Aid to Parochial Schools," 56 Calif. L. Rev. 260 (1968).
14. This argument is also made by Education Vouchers, 139ff.
15. No satisfactory standard has yet emerged for distinguishing between "primary" and "incidental" effects. See Choper, supra, n. 13 at 278.

16. Of Everson: "There is even a possibility that some of the children might not be sent to the church schools if the parents were compelled to pay their children's bus fares out of their own pockets when transportation to a public school might have been paid for by the State." Everson v. Board of Education, 330 U.S. 1, 15 (1947). Of Allen: "Similarly, making textbooks available to pupils in parochial schools... was surely an 'aid' to the sponsoring churches because it relieved those churches of an enormous aggregate cost for those books. Supplying of costly teaching materials was not seen... as having a primary effect of aid contravening the First Amendment." Walt v. N.Y. Tax Comm'n, ___ U.S. ___, 90 S. Ct. 1409, 1414 (1970).
17. See, e.g., Braunfeld v. Brown, 366 U.S. 599 (1961) (Sunday closing laws requiring Jewish merchants to close on Sunday held constitutional).
18. 310 F. Supp. 35 (E. D. Pa. 1969). This case is on appeal to the Supreme Court.
19. Id. at 45.
20. Id. at 46.
21. Id. at 48.
22. ___ U.S. ___, 90 S. Ct. 1409 (1970).
23. Id. at 1411.
24. Id. at 1414.
25. Id. at 1416.
26. Engel v. Vitale, 370 U.S. 421 (1962); School Dist. of Abington v. Schempp, 374 U.S. 203 (1963).
27. McCollum v. Board of Education, 333 U.S. 203 (1948).
28. See Freund, "Public Aid to Parochial Schools," 82 Har. L. Rev. 1682, 1686 (1970).
29. See, e.g., Pierce v. Society of Sisters, 268 U.S. 510, 534 (1925).
30. Only serious compulsion to forego the dictates of religious scruples would offend the Free Exercise Clause. Sherbert v. Verner, 374 U.S. 398 (1963). See text at n. 41 *infra*.
31. See text at n. 10-17 *supra*.

32. Compare restrictions upon work-training programs under the Economic Opportunity Act, which forbids expenditures for programs in which participants are employed "on projects involving... the construction, operation or maintenance of so much of any facility as is used or to be used for sectarian instruction or as a place of worship." 42 U. S. Code sec. 2741.

33. See, e.g., Dorner v. School Dist., 137 Wis. 353, 118 N.W. 353 (1908); Zellers v. Huff, 55 N.M. 501, 236 P. 2d 949 (1951).

34. See text at n. 16, 17, supra.

35. — U.S. —, 90 S. Ct. 1409 (1970).

36. See text at n. 18-24, supra.

37. 90 S. Ct. at 1412.

38. Id.

39. 374 U.S. 398 (1963).

40. Braunfeld v. Brown, 366 U.S. 599 (1961).

41. Cox, "Constitutional Adjudication and the Promotion of Fundamental Human Rights," 80 Harv. L. Rev. 91, 95 (1966).

42. For a summary and critique of these cases, see Note, "Developments in the Law -- Equal Protection," 82 Harv. L. Rev. 1065, 1120ff. (1969).

43. Dandridge v. Williams, — U.S. —, 90 S. Ct. 1153 (1970).

44. See Note, supra at n. 2, at 1121.

45. See Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483 (1954)

46. The remainder of this chapter closely parallels and borrows liberally from Education Vouchers, 159ff.

47. Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483 (1954). The due process clause of the Fifth Amendment forbids the Federal government from aiding segregation in any way that would be forbidden to the states. Bolling v. Sharpe, 347 U.S. 497 (1954).

48. See, e.g., Downs v. Board of Education of Kansas City, 336 F. 2d 988 (10th Cir. 1964); cert. denied 380 U.S. 914 (1965); Springfield School Committee v. Barkedale, 348 F. 2d 261 (1st Cir. 1965).

49. Brown v. Board of Education, 349 U.S. 294 (1955) (Brown II).

50. See, e.g., Poindexter v. Louisiana Financial Assistance Comm'n, 275 F. Supp. 833 (E.D. La. 1967) aff'd per curiam 393 U.S. 571 (1968).

51. See e.g., Poindexter, supra, n. 10 (purpose of new voucher plan held to be to evade earlier court rulings); Gomillion v. Lightfoot, 364 U.S. 339 (1960) (drawing of municipal boundaries with predictable effect of excluding Negroes from benefits of residence is evidence of discriminatory purpose).

52. Evans v. Newton, 382 U.S. 296 (1965) (city park held by private trustees performs a public function).

53. Burton v. Wilmington Parking Authority, 365 U.S. 715 (1961) (private restaurant leased from the state and located in state's garage is subject to state action restrictions).

54. State support of private groups need not be predominant to involve them in state action. Poindexter v. Louisiana Financial Assistance Comm'n, supra, n. 10.

55. See Griffin v. State Board of Education, 296 F. Supp. 1178 (E.D. Va. 1969), finding that traditional mechanisms of judicial enforcement could not realistically be expected to enforce desegregation of a voucher system in the absence of strict administrative control, held the entire plan unconstitutional.

56. See, e.g., Cooper v. Aaron, 358 U.S. 1 (1958).

57. Education Vouchers, at 182.

58. See, e.g., Adams v. Mathews, 403 F. 2d 181 (5th Cir. 1968).

59. Green v. County School Board, 391 U.S. 430 (1968).

60. See cases supra, n. 49.

61. As in Griffin v. State Board of Education, supra, n. 56.

APPENDIX

Child Care Arrangements of Working Mothers in 1965

Distribution of Children under 14		Number (in thousands)	Percent
Total		12,287	100.0
Care in home by		(5,592)	(45.5)
Father		1,828	14.9
Other relative		2,607	21.2
Under 13 years		91	0.7
13-15		479	3.9
16-17		552	4.5
18-64		1,044	8.5
65 years and over		440	3.6
Nonrelative who only looked after children		581	4.7
Nonrelative doing other household chores		575	4.7
Care in someone else's home by		(1,933)	(15.7)
Relative		953	7.8
Nonrelative		979	8.0
Other arrangements		(4,763)	(38.8)
Care in group care center		265	2.2
Child looked after self		994	8.1
Mother looked after child while working		1,594	13.0
Mother worked only during school hours		1,847	15.0
Other		63	0.5

Adapted from: Seth Low and Pearl Spindler, Child Care Arrangements of Working Mothers in the U. S., U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare and U. S. Department of Labor, 1968, Table A-46, p. 107.

SUMMARY OF THE MANUAL FOR COMMUNITY PLANNERS

The Manual is divided into five chapters, each focusing on an area of child care systems about which community planners will have to make decisions.

Chapter I discusses organizational and logistic issues of the project administration. After briefly reviewing general agency responsibilities, it follows the project through its organizational evolution: the choice of a sponsoring agency and the three stages of planning, development and full operation. It then analyzes the four major policy issues of community control, program quality, project responsiveness to families' needs, and ensuring equity.

The agency's information function is presented chronologically: conducting demand and facilities surveys, matching eligible users and providers, and clarifying choices among centers. The external relations section considers licensing regulations and procedures, and other sources of child care funds and services. The chapter concludes with some specific recommendations on fiscal procedures for the use of entitlements, disclosure requirements and mechanisms for centers, and a monitoring system for complaints.

Chapter II presents an overview of the problems involved in costing child care and a framework within which to begin thinking about the issues. It briefly discusses the sources of variation which affect the reliability of cost estimates, and reviews the factors a center must consider when developing its budget. For a detailed analysis of cost estimates, the reader is referred to the forthcoming ABT study, "Survey of Quality Child Care" (sponsored by the Office of Economic Opportunity, available in Spring, 1971.)

Chapter III first discusses the two possible settings for child care--at home and in a center--and suggests a number of dimensions along which these environments have differed in the past. It then addresses the variety

of program types available for infancy, pre-school and school-age care. It reviews the range of present state laws regulating child care and concludes with a discussion of ways to ensure quality control of programs.

Chapter IV analyzes the purposes and consequences of various staffing and training requirements. It discusses who should set these standards (project agency or local center), what components they should include, and various ways they might be implemented.

Chapter V stresses the need for parent and community involvement in the Impact Study. It suggests mechanisms for control at each structural level of the child care system and discusses a variety of informal patterns of parent participation in centers' activities.

1

PROJECT ADMINISTRATION

General Responsibilities in Administering the Project

The project agency, established during the planning phase of the project, will aid providers and users to plan, operate, and evaluate the programs in their child care centers. The project agency must give particular heed to certain general responsibilities in addition to its organizational and administrative functions.

The buffer responsibility. Because the project is a demonstration, it will need sufficient isolation to allow it to make mistakes, learn from such errors and try better alternatives. It is accountable to the taxpayers on a year-to-year basis through the funding agency, not to self-appointed guardians of taxpayers' money on a day-to-day basis.

Public relations will need to be conducted with care. Too much exposure could bring about highly undesirable effects; too much advance publicity could bring into the demonstration area large numbers of people who wish to receive the benefits of the project. The project will operate on limited funds and could not accommodate such an influx. The project may also be over-researched by social scientists eager for data on a new social enterprise. Such research may be legitimate and helpful, yet much might be self-serving and destructive. Those seeking research opportunities need to be controlled.

The connection responsibility. The project must connect with a multitude of Federal, state, and local governmental and independent agencies, some directly related to child care, some not. This task is politically necessary, in order not to offend other agencies' priorities or concerns; and it is necessary to procuring additional present and future resources for the project. The cooperation of many local groups will be vital, and valuable consequences of the project may accrue, such as an organizationally-integrated approach to child care for the demonstration community, even for the state.

The service responsibility. The project agency exists to supply necessary and useful services to day care users and providers alike. In a vendor payment system, the users are "empowering" the providers to develop child care programs. This mode of thinking can also be applied to the project agency: the users and providers of child care services empower the project agency to provide them with the necessary services for making prudent decisions about programs for their children.

Parents will need adequate information for making a choice. Without such information, the parent is limited to choosing blindly, thus defeating a central intention of the funding arrangement--to stimulate quality programming through independent, informed consumer choice. Providers will need both extensive information and training in order to provide sensitive and informed programs.

Organizational Evolution of the Project

A chronological description of the evolution of the project, from its earliest introduction into the demonstration community to its full operational development should illuminate foreseeable problems, indicate their relative importance at particular stages, and show the consequences if they are not solved. The problems themselves become more manageable when broken into time-components.

There are natural growth plateaus to be found as a new organization begins to operate. These plateaus are a function of three factors:

- (1) Money flow. Work cannot be undertaken without cash in hand for the new levels of organizational commitment; therefore, an analysis of organizational growth in terms of the expected flow of money into the project is a realistic safeguard to prevent work commitments from exceeding fiscal capability at any given stage.

- (2) Increased work load. The organizational capacity of the project must expand as it moves from the planning stage to the developmental and full operational stages. Staff must be hired, connections made, and objectives established as the project moves ahead.

- (3) Knowledge gained from past experiences. Some stages cannot proceed without prerequisites completed; and organizational arrangements must await considerable consultation with numerous groups before they become effective. The knowledge gained from earlier stages will be invaluable in the more complex, advanced stages.

Sponsoring Agency

A sponsoring agency which receives the initial planning grant must be an incorporated, legal entity, capable of conducting fiscal transactions. Beyond this minimal requirement, the alternative possibilities are considerable. Corporations are sufficiently easy to form that the initial sponsoring agency can be a new creation, but mere incorporation does not assure an adequate organizational base, a capacity for doing extensive work, legitimacy in the eyes of community people and government agencies alike, and a control apparatus satisfactory to holding that organization accountable. These necessities tend to suggest the choice of an already-established organization in the community as the initial sponsoring agency.

But which agency? Since the demonstration community for the Impact Study is not yet selected, one cannot examine specific possibilities, judge their adequacy, and select the best. A particular type of agency (such as the Community Action Agency, a federation of child care centers, or a 4-C Committee) cannot be recommended at this point because the quality of these organizations varies greatly from city to city. For these reasons, and because the designation of the initial sponsoring agency is a crucial organizational and political decision, it should be chosen after the demonstration community is selected.

Political and strategic considerations may well point to the desirability of a state or local government structure "sponsoring" the project. Under this sort of arrangement, the eventual project agency could have considerable independence, a separate identity, even separate incorporation, and yet accrue some valuable advantages from such

an initial sponsoring arrangement. Two possibilities are worth mentioning.

State established committee. The state government could establish an inter-agency committee for the particular purpose of sponsoring the project, and for the purpose of increasing the state's commitment to child care services. The latter purpose would be building explicitly toward the post-project era when other communities in the state might be wanting a similar program. The state inter-agency committee on child care could be established by law or through an executive order of the governor. It could be attached to the governor's office, an independent commission, or a regular department. It would be charged with developing a coherent state-wide approach to child care; it would work to integrate day care services presently scattered throughout several agencies and jurisdictions. Such a strategy at the state level, with some coordination and connection with the Impact Study, although not necessarily a controlling one, might be quite beneficial to the project in both the long and short run.

A 4-C Committee. An alternative arrangement might be to designate the state or local 4-C Committee as the initial sponsoring agency. The purpose of the 4-C program is to develop an integrated Federal, state, and local approach to programs for children. The 4-C manual, published by the Day Care and Child Development Council of America, contains extensive descriptions of the 4-C concept. If a 4-C Committee is sufficiently established in a local community, it might well be the best possible selection for an initial sponsoring agency. The project could be administered by the 4-C Committee throughout its duration; or the 4-C Committee could limit its involvement to receiving the OEO planning grant and organizing the planning team. The project agency could then be designated after much more involvement from the community has been obtained. If the 4-C structure is involved, a distinct advantage is its requirement that it have a continuing policy board consisting of representatives of the participating agencies, and representative parents selected by parents being served by child care programs (who constitute at least one-third of the policy board). The 4-C committee may provide an excellent initial entry into the community.

An initial sponsor is not an essential requirement. We have proposed it to speed the initiation of the preliminary planning; for OEO to deal with an already-established agency seems more sensible than for it to ask for the establishment of a new agency.

Major Project Stages

Three stages will help chart the emergence of the Impact Study. 1st Stage--Planning: from the time that a community is designated for the Impact Study until the arrival of the operational funds (as opposed to the planning funds) from OEO. 2nd Stage--Developmental: from the time the operational funds arrive through at least the first year of the project. 3rd Stage--Full Operational: from a nebulous beginning point into the period beyond which OEO funding is assured.

This section of the chapter will cover each of these stages and consider two key questions: What are the minimally essential objectives which must be reached for the next stage to begin? What additional tasks could be at least undertaken, if not fully accomplished, during that stage? The kinds of activities which occur in each stage in order to reach minimal, as well as optimal, objectives will also be described.

Stage one--Planning. The planning stage begins when OEO has selected a site for the Impact Study.

OEO should choose a sponsoring agency as the most appropriate agency to hold an initial planning grant. A group of community planners will then be hired. These community planners will be employees of the sponsoring agency. The community planners themselves will be both professionals and non-professional residents of the demonstration community.

The planning stage itself will last until the operational phase of the Impact Study is funded, probably six months, depending on the local problems encountered and the amount of time it will take to get the project approved through OEO.

The primary task during the planning stage is the development of a project proposal for funding. The proposal must contain descriptions of agreements and arrangements on the following matters:

- (1) Identification of Project Agency. The community planners will arrange the necessary political alliances and agreements at the local level, involving the city administration, the local CAA, residents and leaders in the community, and other interest groups, so that an existing or newly-formed agency can be designated in the proposal as the responsible project agency.
- (2) Start-up Costs. The planners will have to decide on the amount of project funds that will be held centrally for the first year to aid providers with start-up costs, and for any training programs that may be provided centrally during the life of the project.
- (3) Data Collection. A survey of demand for child care services within the Impact Study area must be conducted with the planning funds. A survey of existing child care facilities available is just as crucial.
- (4) Establishing Project Standards. Besides the Federal, state, and local requirements which child care centers will have to meet, other project standards may be generated by the community planners.
- (5) Preparation of a Manual on Procedural Rules. The sooner the planning group can prepare and distribute a manual which explains simply and completely the Impact Study procedures, the more rapidly various users and providers can begin thinking about their own participation.
- (6) External Relations. Some work on external relations must be done during the planning stage, such as insuring the governor's sign-off on the project.
- (7) Incentives. The planners will establish a set of incentive grant procedures, to be used to upgrade program quality at each center.
- (8) Training. The planners will identify institutions capable of providing training for project and center staff.

After they have fulfilled these functions, the community planners will have concluded their part in the project. The project agency will pick up responsibility at this point.

Stage two--Development. Upon the arrival of the operational funds for the Impact Study, the tenor of the project shifts from one of planning and anticipation to rapid, intensive, and continuous action. The first six months is really the shakedown period. Many of the arrangements and agreements reached prior to this time will have to undergo practical revision. This stage is discussed at this time not so much for the presentation of a complete plan as for an opportunity to list expectations about work objectives and uncertainties. Some of the important ones are as follows:

- (1) Establishment of New Facilities. Since the Impact Study will stimulate the establishment of many new child care facilities and programs and the upgrading of existing informal arrangements, these providers will need help in meeting Federal, state, and project requirements for licensing and approval as eligible agencies. The project agency's major concern in this regard will be to watch for overall balance in the numbers, types, and geographical distribution of eligible agencies. If, for example, the only providers forthcoming offer Montessori programs, or if an entire neighborhood is devoid of providers, the project agency will need to intervene. It will need to stimulate center and program formation selectively, in order to ensure that overall equity is maintained.

- (2) Provision of Technical Assistance and Services. One of the larger uncertainties is the amount of technical assistance and central services individual programs and centers will require, both for start-up and for on-going operation. The formation of a Service Corporation is briefly described in Chapter V. If the project does adopt the Service Corporation notion, then considerable energy at the beginning must be devoted to this enterprise. The project agency must be ready to supply services and technical assistance to centers when they need them.

(3) Identifying Users and Providers. A simple but important administrative task is the signing up of eligible parents and eligible providers on the official rolls of the project and issuing child care credit cards. Since the cumulative amount of money is considerable, the registration process is rather important, both to prevent fraud and to assure eligible holders and providers that they will receive their fair amount.

(4) Training. Since some minimal training is required for all providers, the project agency will want to start training programs immediately.

Stage three--Full Operational. After the initial task of getting a new organizational system into operation is completed, some thought must be given to the future of the programs.

The project has a responsibility, as part of its initial agreement, to build toward a permanent future. The new child care providers stimulated by the Impact Study will survive initially because of project funds and because a climate helpful to them has been created. The project agency must therefore from the beginning work with community people and state officials toward providing a good chance for the state to continue the program's financial support, if only in part, at some future date. Likewise, the capacity for technical assistance generated by the project could revert to a self-sustaining community Service Corporation under the control of the residents in the community. By building toward future financial support, the maximum opportunity for that community's continuance of child care services is established.

This stage never terminates. It is the on-going manifestation of a child care program in a community to which cities across the nation can look for guidance. One of OEO's goals is establishment of a demonstration project which can survive. OEO could therefore help support the program beyond project-funding by relying on the expertise of people in the project area for information and skill dissemination, consequently paying such people as consultants for services rendered. Such funds might then revert to a central pool for continuing program support.

Issues of Administration

There are four central issues to which community planners and the project agency should pay particular heed: (1) the extent to which control of the project rests in the community; (2) the assurance of quality in the child care centers; (3) the responsiveness of the project to emerging needs of the community regarding child care and related services; and (4) the assurance of equity for individual children and for child care centers.

Community Control

What local entity can maintain the trust of both the funding source and the people of the community selected for the demonstration? That matter of trust assumes particular prominence because the Impact Study centers on the raising of children, a vital concern for all parents. In addition, legitimate regulatory responsibilities rest with the state and municipal governments, and OEO wishes to see money spent wisely. The project agency must be able to ward off governmental imposition at the same time as it allows the legitimate authority of government--Federal, state, and local--to operate.

An adequate check on government requires both community control and parent control of the project: control both by the natural political leaders in the neighborhoods--not necessarily elected officials--and by the parents who are the users of child care services. This control can come through an established community agency already controlled by the community (such as some settlement houses, community action agencies, or Model Cities boards), through a policy board established to oversee the project, and through a system of parent councils. Various alternatives will be examined in Chapter V.

Program Quality

Both the government and the people will want the best possible care for children in the centers. It is presently the responsibility of state and local governments to inspect and license child care facilities and personnel. The goals of health, fire, and safety are non-controversial and the definition of minimum standards for these is relatively straight-forward: such standards are appropriately within the purview of government

regulation. However, the steps beyond minimal safety to quality child care are less clear. No one really knows what a quality child care arrangement is or exactly how to achieve it. And the goals of, and preferences for, child care vary greatly among those interested in child care. Thus, it would not be appropriate for the government to demand compliance with more stringent regulations designed to somehow insure quality.

The quality of a child care program above and beyond minimal safety standards seems to be most appropriately the function and responsibility of client interest and demand. The funding plan is intended to ensure that child care facilities will respond to the parental concerns, if only through the pressure of losing clients. Yet if there is no real choice, or if all child care centers are equally poor, then the funding arrangement cannot bring the desired results. Other methods besides the funding mechanism should be used to insure quality. The Feasibility Section of this Final Report has suggested the use of discretionary funds to encourage child care facilities to upgrade their programs. Those incentives, and active help and encouragement from central office staff, can create an atmosphere conducive to maintaining quality.

But perhaps the most effective method is to create decision-making structures through which parents are guaranteed the opportunity to play a meaningful role in defining the kind of care they want for their children and through which centers know that they are ultimately accountable to parents. This suggests, further, that evaluation of programs and criteria for determining program success should be tailored to the particular program type, not to some unrelated general standard.

Project Responsiveness

Existing child care arrangements offer a wide variety of programs and services beyond their basic function of taking care of children. These services have responded to the needs of children with medical care and educational programs, to the needs of parents and families with family counseling, for example. If the child care system is to be supportive of the child within the context of his family, then it is important to meet these diverse needs. However, there is the danger of goal-overload, and a child care center must look carefully at the needs to be met and the resources available to meet them, and set its priorities accordingly.

Services can be made available either by provision through the center's funds, by arranging for other groups to donate such services, or by establishing a referral system with other existing agencies. The decision as to which services are best provided by each mechanism must be made in light of what exists in the particular community. Understanding and accommodating diverse needs requires an administrative structure with considerable responsiveness.

Equity

The issue of equity is the most difficult one to identify, yet one can easily imagine individual children receiving unfair treatment because they may appear to present less desirable traits. Operators of child care centers likewise can suffer disadvantages through unfair competitive practices, lack of start-up capital, lack of an established organizational base, or lack of legitimacy in the eyes of the neighborhood or municipal authorities. Whatever the disadvantage, and whoever is unfairly treated, an important task of the administrative structure is to insure that initial inequities are overcome. Failure to do so will skew the results of the Impact Study, showing an inaccurate picture of the kinds of day care services which participants desire, given a full range of possibilities. An additional undesirable consequence of inequities in the demonstration project could result in great bitterness on the part of individuals or even large segments of the community in which the demonstration occurs.

Additional Organizational Comments

The problems of empowerment, control, and confidence are basically political and highly dependent upon the history of the local situation in the demonstration community. A heavy burden is therefore placed upon the good sense and political skills of the group of community planners who receive and carry out the work of the planning grant. Compromises, trade-offs, and new levels of trust will no doubt be forthcoming as an initial working organizational structure is approved and instituted by all parties: at the very least, the parents and other residents in the poor communities, the community agencies most directly

concerned with child care and welfare, the prevailing city political interests, and perhaps certain additional interests set forth by the state. This coalition will be difficult to establish.

One means for gaining the confidence of potential users of child care services is to recruit and hire project staff from their number. Project staff will collect and disseminate information, orient parents to the project, and interpret rules, requirements, and procedures of the funding arrangement to potential users and providers of child care services. Project staff will also act as liaison among federated users' committees and local program units and the central administrative staff.

Information

A fundamental responsibility of the project agency is to generate the information necessary to enable eligible users and providers to make competent and confident choices about child care. This responsibility must include not only providing information, but also finding the people (both users and providers) to whom the information must be given, and helping to bring the two together.

A provider must be guaranteed some security; for he will have to figure his budget on an annual basis, and he will often contract initial construction/rehabilitation costs. Therefore a user should be allowed to switch centers no more than twice a year. The information a parent receives, therefore, from his first knowledge of the project through his decision to join a particular facility must enable him to make the best possible choice. The project agency must see that:

- all information is accurate, comprehensible, and relevant to a parent's particular situation;
- parents are aware of all the alternatives available to them;
- parents are aware of the advantages and disadvantages of each alternative;
- parents have personal contact with an agency representative to provide advice and help, if needed.

This discussion of the project agency's information function is broken into chronological stages. The stages overlap continually,

however. Parents will be applying and enrolling, and providers will be starting centers, throughout most of the first year of the demonstration. And the agency's information function will likewise continue throughout.

Planning Stage

During the planning stage, the community planners will develop the project proposal and build toward a full-scale project agency. The informational duties of the planners at this point will center on publicizing the project in general terms throughout the community, conducting a survey of demand and a survey of existing facilities, beginning to identify eligible users and potential providers of day care.

Publicizing the project. The planners must let the people of the community know that the project is taking place. The purpose of this information is to begin to elicit community response and to make the project and later the project agency trustworthy in the eyes of the people. The information at this point should cover at least the following subjects:

- how much money is involved, and where it comes from;
- who will run the project, stressing that it will be the charge of a community-based agency;
- what child care is and what it means to parents as well as children;
- what child care credit cards are and how they work;
- who is eligible to use the cards--based on criteria established by OEO and the community planners;
- who is eligible to provide child care--based on criteria of education, experience, training, willingness, etc., as established by the planning group;
- how parental payments operate; and
- what are the possible settings for day care?

It should be stressed that many existing arrangements can be covered under the project. In addition, if the planning group thinks that some people in the community are likely to have misunderstandings or problems about accepting the project (for example, the stigma attached to a "welfare institution"), then those arguments should be addressed.

All possible media should be used. Newspapers and magazines can carry announcements and advertisements of the project, as well as articles about it, interviews with planners and later agency staff, and man-in-the-street reactions. Local television could provide spots on daytime and evening news programs; advertising contributed in the public interest; community affairs spots; any ethnically- or community-oriented discussion programs; advertising in commercial time around children's programs, soap operas, late night movies (when much present advertising is for blue- and white-collar career training programs). Radio should be used in the same way, concentrating spots around community and disc jockey programs as well as utilizing talk shows.

Subway and bus advertising space and perhaps unused billboards can be contributed. Children and teenagers can distribute posters and flyers and participate in child care poster contests or a "paint-in" on boarded-up windows or a construction fence. Leaflets can be distributed on the street and at subway and bus stops, at stores, through schools, and with welfare, unemployment, and pay checks.

Conducting surveys. The community planners will conduct surveys to determine the number and quality of existing facilities and arrangements, and to assess potential demand for child care. The planning group may do these surveys itself with specially hired staff, or it may contract the work to professional survey teams.

Surveying the existing arrangements will mean both making an inventory of official day care in centers and trying to get an inventory of home day care arrangements now used by many mothers. Assessing the demand will mean interviewing not only those in jobs or on welfare but also the hard-to-find "near poor" and others who may wish to join the system by paying fees scaled according to their income.

In carrying out both these surveys, emphasis should be placed on classifying existing and desired child care according to several categories: location, size, ages of children served, program type (custodial, recreational, educational), facilities, length of day, nutritional goals, health services, etc. Most parents have rather definite

ideas about what kind of child care they will find acceptable, and the results of these surveys may determine to a large extent the kinds of centers that are eventually generated.

Beginning to identify users and providers. The planners will begin the difficult task of finding eligible users of day care and potential operators, and bringing them together. They will reach out to community organizations, political parties, tenants' groups, labor unions, social service organizations, churches, even bars and beauty shops. They will begin to get groups of parents together for discussion of what they want from child care.

An accurate file system of potential users and operators will be begun during the planning stage. Names coming from all sources will be filed: people contacted during the two surveys, names from welfare and unemployment lists, tenants of housing projects and rent-subsidized housing, people contacted through the various churches, hospitals, community organizations, and personnel officers in industries.

At the same time the planners might begin talking with industries, with middle-class or suburban day care centers, with proprietary and turnkey operations, interesting them in sponsoring centers and/or accepting eligible children.

Project Development Stage

When the operational funds arrive from OEO, many eligible users will have been identified, as will have many existing and incipient centers. Some users and providers will have come together and concluded some of their arrangements. But many potential centers will be looking for enough children to get funded and begin operations, and many parents will not yet have found suitable child care arrangements. The project agency must concentrate on bringing the two together. It will seek the large number of families who are often isolated from conventional information streams. Some recruitment will be done by individual centers--large centers will often have their own advertising mechanisms, founders of home day care and cooperative ventures will contact their own friends and neighbors, industry- and church-related centers will know their own constituencies. The project agency will give these every

help, but will not rely on individual centers to do the whole job. It will actively seek out all possible eligible users, and see that they are enabled to make informed choices. At this stage, then, the information function will be carried out by both the project agency and by individual centers.

Finding eligible users and providers. Media announcements and general mailings may not reach many families who are eligible for child care, especially those who are not on welfare. Those who are underemployed or only sporadically employed may be especially difficult to reach. Their names do not appear on organizational lists; they are usually ignored by government and service programs, and they are often hostile to any bureaucracy.

To find these people, the project agency will need to rely heavily on a corps of community aides who know how to seek out and talk to suspicious or shy parents in their own language. These community aides will be able to get some information from conventional sources. Schools often have records of younger siblings of their pupils. Teachers may have an even better idea of their students' family situations. These aides will utilize all the sources mentioned in the previous section and more, in addition to operating out of storefronts, going from door to door in likely neighborhoods, talking to everyone, explaining the project, providing the choices.

Providing project information. The project agency will give all eligible users and providers information which relates to general project issues. Parents will ask questions about eligibility at the same time as they ask about specific centers. The community aide will see that the family knows what the entitlement is and understands how to use it.

The agency will also provide project information to operators of existing day care centers and to people who wish to start centers. This information may include lists of eligible families, explanations of how the credit card system works, licensing and minimal standards, zoning regulations, tax and fiscal disclosure requirements, and incorporation procedures. The agency may help put the provider in touch with construction or rehabilitation contractors, franchisers, assistant teachers

and staff aides, medical and nutritional services. The project agency should distribute a newsletter discussing new centers being started, exemplary day care models, and training programs offered.

Clarifying choices among centers. When a community aide gives a parent a credit card and tells him how to use it, he will also tell him what specific centers there are to choose from. He will present the parent with a booklet or descriptive list of all available centers. Each center will be described in some detail, including its name, address and telephone number, the names and possibly relevant background of all staff, ratio of staff to children, facilities and services offered, program type or content. All centers that join the system will be required to provide at least this information to the project agency.

Some parents will have a good idea of what they want, and will call at various centers for more detailed information before making a final choice. But many parents will want more advice, and should be able to get it from the project agency. (A variety of forums for advice may spring up, within and outside the project agency, from chats with neighbors to sophisticated consumers' unions.)

The community aide can help a parent examine his situation and figure out what kinds of child care he wants: whether he wants all his children in one center or not; whether he wants all-day care or only part-time, or different schedules for each child; what he wants in terms of closeness of a center to home and in terms of educational or custodial component; whether he wants to accept parental payments; and so forth.

This agency representative can also help a parent to judge among specific centers. This may involve pointers as to what to look for at each center, or helping the parent draw up a list of questions to ask of each.

The time and trouble a parent faces in looking at several centers and choosing one will be increased if he has children of different ages requiring different situations, or if he has a full-time job. The assistance provided by the agency in these cases becomes even more vital.

Once parents have made a rough decision on the kind of center they want and have received the descriptive list of possible choices, they will begin to look at specific centers. In the case of already-existing centers, parents should have the opportunity to visit and see them in operation. They should examine the facilities, meet the staff, and watch the activities. Both parents and children should be able to talk to staff members and discuss any special problems and questions.

But many centers will not yet exist, and initially there will be very little for parents to look at. Not only will the centers not be in operation, and often not even be constructed or rehabilitated, but the operators themselves will not even know whether their plans will work out as they expect.

In the absence of any proven achievement by the center, the parents will make a decision based largely on their personal reaction to the operator, on how well they like his plans, and on their estimate of his ability to carry those plans out. Some parents will have been involved in drawing up the plans and in choosing the operator, and many other centers will be simply continuations of existing informal arrangements.

When the parents don't already know the operator, they must have every chance to meet him, to discuss the plans for the center, to meet the other parents and children who are enrolled or considering the center and any staff who have been hired. If the center is not yet built, or if construction or rehabilitation are still going on, the project agency will try to provide meeting places.

Matching. Some centers and some parents will not need this help. They will have been in touch with each other early, thinking about what they want and drawing up plans. Others will need assistance from the project agency. The community aide will direct parents whose first-choice center is full to others which are still accepting children. If a center is under-applied, the agency will help it reach families who are still looking for places. Throughout the Impact Study all centers will inform the project agency of their enrollment status. This information and a record of unplaced children will be kept up to date in the agency's filing system.

At the end of the first year of the demonstration, the project agency should conduct a survey of use. This will be the point at which parents can switch centers or start new ones if they are unsatisfied with their existing arrangements. There will also be changes in eligibility by this time--children will have grown older, families will have moved in and out of the project area, and so on.

The survey should contact every user and provider in the demonstration, to find out what changes will take place for the second year, so that the agency and individual facilities can begin to provide for these changes. Information collected during this survey can also be used as data for a preliminary evaluation of the demonstration.

External Relations

The Impact Study will not operate in a vacuum. Both buffer and connective responsibilities will involve careful handling of public relations and alert responsiveness to potential access to services and monies.

Licensing

Governmental minimal standards fall into three categories: Federal, state, and local. The Federal Interagency Day Care Requirements attempt to set a direction and tone for child care services but do not mandate specific quantities except in the area of staff to student ratios, where these Federal regulations are more stringent than those of most states.

The state departments which concern themselves with some aspect of child care service include the welfare department, the department of public health, the department of public safety, and the department of education. City zoning offices, fire marshals, and building and housing inspectors are also usually involved.

The project agency must concern itself with rapidly and accurately processing many new child care facilities through these state and municipal agencies. Whether these new programs are small, home day care facilities or new, large corporation-sponsored ventures, they

cannot receive children until they have met the minimal state and city requirements regarding the protection of children served. Not only would unlicensed centers face closure, but the project itself might suffer official retaliation for supporting unregulated child care programs. Therefore it is in the project's interest to assist new centers in quickly meeting minimal state requirements for licensing.

The project could do nothing more than distribute information on state requirements, and consider its responsibility in the matter discharged. But the burden on the regulatory agencies to process applications quickly may simply be too great, delaying new centers from official approval for weeks or months.

The state or city is unlikely to relinquish its authority to license or its authority to enforce regulations. But a state or city agency might be willing to ease its load by receiving additional and temporary funds to hire extra staff or by having the initial inspection process carried out by the project agency.

To deal with this bureaucratic snag, the project agency might set aside enough funds from the operational grant to cover the real cost of rapidly processing the applications for licensing of facilities. The project agency could then approach the state or municipal regulatory authority with one or another of the following plans for handling the volume of work quickly.

The project agency could request the regulatory agency to allow project staff specially hired for the purpose to conduct the necessary inspection of facilities and complete the work of processing applications. The regulatory authority, trusting the good sense of these inspectors, would then approve applications.

Or the project could contract with an independent agency, perhaps a consulting firm or recognized technical service organization, to conduct the inspection of center facilities. The regulatory authority, supervising the work of this independent group, would then approve applications submitted.

An example of the licensing procedure. The Department of Public Health in the State of Massachusetts has given the City of Boston authority to license day care facilities. The potential operator files application papers with the Department of Health of the City of Boston. This department uses the state's Department of Public Health "Rules and Regulations for Day Care Services for Children." In addition to complying with these standards, the potential facilities must pass inspection in the following five areas for which inspectors are automatically sent out by the city's Department of Health and Hospitals: fire, zoning, electrical, gas, and sanitation. The City of Boston is also developing program standards which, when instituted, must be met by any day care facility then operating.

It is apparent that licensing can be and often is a difficult, tedious, and time-consuming process. An average length of time to allot for licensing can range from one month to one year. The Bank Street Day Care Consultation Service quotes a report published by the Citizens Budget Commission, Inc., in New York saying that the Health Code has been called "the greatest single obstacle to the development of new day care facilities." Although this report refers specifically to the New York City Health Code, potential operators everywhere often experience great difficulty in the licensing process.

The potential operator must have in mind an idea of the type of child care center he wants to run. He should know the number and ages of the children he wants, the program he wants to offer them, and the staff who will be with the children. By having a clear sense of his needs in these three areas, the potential operator can then deal with the General Requirements as posed in the Federal Interagency Day Care Requirements and be prepared for the probable compromises he will have to make to meet state and local standards, particularly in the area of facilities.

Resources

This section will consider the sources from which a day care facility, a Service Corporation, or the project agency could get monies, goods, or services in addition to the money coming to the project from

OEO. The fund seeker himself must make the appropriate selections of programs according to what the individual center is ready for.

The Federal government. There are several listings of the numerous Federal programs which relate both directly and indirectly to day care:

Federal Programs Assisting Children and Youth,
Children's Bureau publication of 1967

Federal Funds for Day Care Projects, Department
of Labor publication.

The OEO Manual, a listing of Federal projects
geared toward the anti-poverty program

The 4-C Manual, a good "listing of listings"

The Community Coordinated Child Care (4-C) Manual is an excellent guide for researching Federal programs potentially applicable to a child care center and locating the appropriate offices and people to talk to. Section IV of that manual outlines many of the major potential sources of funds among the various Federal agencies; section V lists the relevant agency director and the address and phone number of the Federal or state office with which he is associated. If, for example, a community planner wanted to find funding for a training program, he would locate in section IV, page 9, a description of the Work Incentive Program (WIN). He would then look to section V, pages 11-20, after having looked at section IV, page 5 which contains a map of the U.S. divided into HEW regions, where he would find the appropriate regional director.

Although the potential for program ties is large, there are some notes of caution. That various programs exist does not necessarily mean that the funds they provide will be available for the Impact Study. Federal budgets are planned far in advance; and funds are quickly allocated.

The project agency or the child care provider must be willing to assume obligations of accountability and record-keeping that are associated with Federal funds. He must then seek out the person who has actual control over the disbursement of funds and convince him that the program or project merits an allocation. The actual writing of a

proposal, for which the sponsoring Federal department may provide help, is the easiest stage.

Federal funding suffers from a lack of coordination among the various Federal agencies which are providing those funds. This coordination problem occurs among the various agencies delivering Federal funds to the same project and among the national and regional Federal agencies.

State and local governments. These governments are generally responsible for the administration of some Federal funds and provide comparatively limited funds on their own, above and beyond matching funds.

Some state or city legislation may provide funds for the construction or rehabilitation of a center facility. In New York State, for example, it is possible (although exceedingly difficult) to get a state mortgage under the Youth Facilities Improvement Act. The conditions of the Act state that the incorporated body (nonprofit) must own or want to own the building, that the building be used for day care or related purposes, and that no part of the building be used for religious purposes. A community group which meets these conditions is eligible for a state mortgage which can include planning costs, such as an educational director, an architect, a lawyer, and any other necessary staff or consultants; purchase costs; construction or renovation costs; equipment costs; and any other necessary expenditures. Also, a center located in New York City can apply for a City Lease and have the N.Y.C. Department of Social Services pay for the operating costs of the center.

Thus a community child care nonprofit corporation in New York City can be funded for both facilities and operating costs. The Bank Street Day Care Consultation Service has printed several handbooks concerning the logistics and steps for obtaining these funds. The Impact Study project agency will need to provide planning manuals and logistical advice to potential day care operators to help them over the hurdles of seeking supplementary funds.

Potential providers of child care service should also inquire about planning money. The potential provider can try to obtain a planning

grant from a private foundation or organization. For example, the Children's Circle Planning Project in New York City has applied for and received private foundation money to begin planning operations.

Local agencies and institutions. Organizations which could provide services to a child care facility are numerous. Hospitals and health clinics could do the initial screening of the children and provide continued preventive, therapeutic, and referral medical services. Colleges and universities, and some high schools, provide a sensible way to deliver training programs.

Training and health-nutrition are areas to which the Federal Interagency Day Care Requirements specifically address themselves:

Nonprofessional staff must be given career progression opportunities which include job upgrading and work related training and education.

(Section VI, 3)

The operating or administering agency must assure that the health of the children and the safety of the environment are supervised by a qualified physician.

(Section V, 1)

The Impact Study must provide a number of in-center services. Because these services are expensive to provide, centers will need to establish connections with organizations which have the capacity to provide them. In some instances a center might better provide these services itself or at least at its own expense. Or several centers might join together to purchase some services--like medical care or nutritional consulting--cooperatively.

The Private sector. Private funding sources, especially local foundations, prove to be quite advantageous. However, they have limited funds to allocate in any given area and it may not be possible to count on renewed funding.

Franchisees should be considered in evaluating potential private resources. The franchiser sells an "idea" to the franchisee (with the research and technical assistance which are associated with it). The franchisee has the advantages of support and previous research undertaken

for him by the franchiser and the training the latter provides him, which should facilitate the delivery and enhance the quality of the service he provides.

Establishing a workable profit margin in the child care service industry is, however, very difficult. Even the best intentioned provider may succumb to economic reality and begin to cut cost corners in making a profit. The largest corner, the cost of staff, is the most important element in a good child care program. Since the franchise operation has two profits to consider, the profit of the local operator and the profit of the franchiser, this situation increases the likelihood that corners will be cut. If a cooperative of parents contract with a franchiser, they might forego the former profit in establishing a franchised child care center.

To be eligible to participate in the Impact Study, franchisers must meet project standards. There are two areas which are especially difficult for a franchised day care center to meet: staff to student ratio and parent involvement. The Federal Interagency Requirements demand very high staff to student ratios. Possibly the Federal requirements are so stringent that franchised day care will not be attracted to programs involving Federal money.

Federal guidelines further state:

Parents must have the opportunity to become involved themselves in the making of decisions concerning the nature and operation of the day care facility.

(Section VII, 2)

The key word in the section is "opportunity." The franchisee will want to create a parents' advisory council to the center to help plan policy. However, the operation of the center normally remains in the hands of the franchisee, who is dealing with the profit margin and who may be unwilling to relinquish the right of operation of his center to a group which will not bear this important factor in mind.

One franchiser has developed a package to be sold to government and nonprofit child care center operators. While land is to be provided by the operators, the franchiser will provide facilities, materials and training for the staff for a fixed fee. This kind of package might be useful as a way of expediting the start-up of operations; its usefulness to the Impact Study is dependent on its price. It might also be possible for a franchise operation to develop components of a child care program which could be purchased by child care centers owned and operated by lower income groups lacking the capital or interest to purchase the entire turn-key package. The franchiser mentioned above has undertaken to train paraprofessionals. The training program will use WIN money and be located at the franchiser's child care center.

This same franchiser has given a large number of children scholarships at the expense of the franchiser to provide social and racial mix which he considers beneficial to his program. The center provides the scholarship children with medical checkups and, in some cases, home treatment and parent education in health and nutrition.

Some Specific Policy Recommendations

Some policy matters cannot be left solely to the discretion of local community planners and residents. Some guidelines will be forthcoming from OEO primarily from a desire to ensure compliance with certain Federal laws and to ensure accountability in fiscal matters. Other matters, such as provision for information collection and dissemination, are of sufficient importance to require certain procedures. Although local planners may be given choice over how certain policies are carried out, they may not be given a choice on the policy itself. Some specific examples are mentioned below.

Fiscal Procedures on the Use of Entitlements

The nature of entitlements makes them susceptible to fraud and misuse. Even before credit cards are distributed, problems will arise. Specific individuals will be identified as eligible. Yet they will be difficult to find. Once a verified list is obtained, the cards, with full information on their purpose, use, and entitlements, must be distributed.

If they go by mail, the chances of their being lost are great. If eligible residents must show up in person, this requirement may prove to be a handicap. Cards could be distributed in person by community aides especially oriented to the project who pass information on to parents.

The card itself would not be redeemable without certain safeguards. First, each card should be individually addressed to the particular family head and numbered so that lost cards can be replaced, and/or returned to their rightful owners. The cards should require the signature of the holder to assume value for an eligible provider. Once the signature of the user is placed on the card (perhaps in the presence of a notary), the provider must then counter-sign at an appropriate time, in order to redeem it. A payment check would be issued to the eligible provider that the holder had designated when he originally signed the card. In this manner, as long as accurate lists of users and providers are maintained in project files, there should be adequate fiscal assurance that entitlements cannot be improperly redeemed.

The issue then becomes one of preventing collusion between user and provider (who could be good friends or close relatives), and of assuring that a provider does carry out a program within the minimal requirements of the project. The collusion issue is less of a concern, since such collusion should not be in the interest of a parent who really needs his children cared for. The latter problem is of more concern; it will require both watchful parents and an inspection process within the project itself.

There are other policy questions related to the value of entitlements, the time periods during which they can be redeemed, and partial redemption. These questions relate more to program policy questions than they do to fiscal accountability. For example a parent may wish his child cared for by more than one center. Such flexibility would require more elaborate fiscal arrangements, but such measures can await the program decision itself.

Disclosure Requirements and Mechanism for Centers

Related to the question of fiscal accountability (verification of services rendered) is the matter of a provider disclosing the nature of

his program and operation in such a manner that two important purposes can be served. First, parents are able to make informed decisions because they have access to information about their own and other centers such that comparisons can be made. (See above.) Second, the project can verify through such reports that the quality and extent of services rendered has been as claimed by the provider. Three separate steps can insure adequacy of this reporting system:

(1) At the time a provider wishes to register with the project agency office as eligible, he should file a plan outlining his program, staff, facilities, and other resources available for the center. Other information may also be requested. Major deviations from this plan must be reported by the provider.

(2) Since the provider must be licensed by the state, the project agency can utilize such information as a cross-check on the initial plans filed by the provider with the project. The provider must also obtain his license prior to becoming eligible to receive payments.

(3) A project staff inspection team, perhaps community aides working under the direction of a professional, would then visit the premises during operation to verify that the provider is operating in a basically safe and healthy manner, and in accordance with his announced intentions. If at any time a question arises about the adequacy of a center to perform in accordance with minimal requirements, the project may send an inspection team to check again on the provider's program and operation.

(4) A fourth procedure might be the evaluation of a program by an outside agency. Parents and the provider himself may wish such an evaluation for the record, as evidence that the program is a solid one. As more centers undertake such evaluation, the incentive for every center to do likewise increases. A center that is unwilling to undergo independent evaluation may well become suspect. Programs that undertake formative evaluation as part of their regular procedure should also be given due credit for such evidence. Regular reporting deserves recognition as a serious desire to improve performance and deliver the best possible care for the money received.

These measures should be sufficient to ensure that providers recognize and live up to project standards for their programs. The best possible check is a group of watchful parents who are concerned enough about their children that they take time to keep informed on their center's program. In as much as the project can encourage such watchfulness, it should be done. The alternative enforcement method is a policeman/inspector assigned to each program, a measure no one wants.

Monitoring System for Complaints and Insuring Equity

Despite the measures listed above, problems will arise. Procedures for handling complaints need to be established in advance. If inter-center parents councils are forthcoming, then complaints could be handled at that level. (See Manual, Chapter V.) If such councils, for one reason or another, cannot handle such complaints, someone in the project agency, perhaps an ombudsman, must do so. Presumably, most complaints can be negotiated, or smoothed over. Should the situation become more serious, to the point of termination of funds for a parent or provider, then adequate due process measures must be provided, ideally in the form of a "show cause" hearing.

COSTS OF CHILD CARE ARRANGEMENTS

Until recently, the problems involved in determining how much child care actually costs and how to go about planning an individual center's budget or a national program remained complicated and obscure. In the past several months, OEO has funded a study, conducted by ABT Associates, to describe and cost existing quality child care arrangements. A preliminary review indicates that the cost data gathered in this study are the most accurate available to date; the ABT presentation will include an analysis of sources of variation in costs, budgeting child care systems and arrangements such as home care and centers, the elasticity of factor inputs, and possible economies of scale.

Because these cost data and the analysis will be available shortly, this chapter has been designed to present an overview of the problems involved in costing child care and a framework within which to begin thinking about these issues. It is meant to be complemented by the more detailed analysis in the ABT study.

Reliability of Cost Estimates

In the past, child care costs have been poorly understood for several reasons. For one thing, the term "child care" has been used to describe quite diverse programs for children which have in fact been designed to serve various purposes: some programs focus mainly on the development of children, some are designed primarily to provide opportunities for mothers to work, and others may use child care services as a base for community development activities. For any particular focus of child care, there is no single model which is generally agreed to be most successful, and thus, "child care" has included a wide

¹"Survey of Quality Child Care," ABT Associates. Sponsored by the Office of Economic Opportunity. Available in Spring, 1971.

spectrum of services, programs, and levels of quality. There is no general consensus on what is being talked about when people speak of the costs of "a developmental program" or even of "a nutrition program."

Another problem with understanding child care costs is the wide gap between real costs of child care and cash costs actually paid for that care. Many real costs are hidden: for instance, a benefactor may pay for unbudgeted repairs after vandalism. Many real costs are not monetized: volunteers contribute labor, raise funds, and keep the books; space is donated. Most cost figures on child care have underestimated its real cost.

Sources of variation. In addition, numerous factors influence the cost of child care, even if program and focus are clearly defined and all items have been monetized. The major sources of variation include the following:

(1) Geographic Region. Costs vary with the particular region of the country so that child care costs in the northeast may be 25% higher, and in the west 10% higher, than in the midwest, while costs in the south may be 10% lower.²

(2) Urban/Rural Location. No matter what the regional location of a center, costs will vary further depending on whether it is located in an urban, suburban, or rural setting. Costs in inner city locations, for instance, are especially high due to higher costs of staff, space, insurance, etc. Thus costs in an inner city might run as much as 28% more than costs in a suburban community in the same region. Ultimately, of course, any estimate will have to be modified by the idiosyncratic variations of particular communities.

(3) Number and Qualifications of Staff. Child care costs vary according to the staff/child ratios established. A center with a ratio

² The statistical estimates presented here are meant to be suggestive of the degree of variation; more accurate estimates will be available from the AHT analysis.

of 1:5 hires twice as many staff as a center using a ratio of 1:10. The qualifications required for each staff position also affect costs: jobs which require much education and/or experience usually pay higher salaries.

(4) Program Arrangements. Child care programs vary according to the age of the children, the hours of care provided, the curriculum used, and the presence of extra services. Care for infants is more expensive because lower staff/child ratios are necessary; such care could run as much as 180% more than the cost of care for pre-school children. Longer hours demand a schedule of staggered shifts because it is unreasonable to expect staff to be with children for more than eight hours at a stretch. Various programs designed to develop cognitive, emotional, and social skills may require additional investment in equipment, some of which may be expensive. Additional program components for children, such as optimal nutrition, health, transportation, and counseling; or for parents, such as parent education or employment services, all require additional funds. In addition, the needs of some children necessitate special programs: handicapped children may need special provisions if they cannot be integrated into the regular program; disadvantaged children often need enrichment programs.

(5) Licensing Standards. Each state and locality has various standards with which child care arrangements must comply in order to be licensed. Additional standards may be required by agencies providing funds. The strictness of these standards helps determine the minimum cost of approved child care.

Budgeting a Child Care Arrangement

Start-up costs. Start-up costs include all costs associated with activities which must be performed in order for a center to be ready to open its doors. Funding arrangements must be made for investment capital and working capital. If parents will not be expected to bear the full burden of operational costs through fees, then additional funds must be found for operating expenses. These arrangements all entail spending time and money on writing proposals, fund-raising activities, and

negotiating for facilities. The amount needed for capital investment will depend not only on the variables described above, but also on whether facilities will be provided through new construction or renovation, and if the latter, how much renovation will be needed to meet local codes.

Further expenses will be incurred throughout the planning stage as equipment is ordered, information is made available to potential users, and committees and boards are established.

Operating expenses. Once decisions have been made about the type of child care program a center plans to have, the program will have to be budgeted. If funds are relatively scarce, this budgeting will probably not be an easy step-by-step process. Rather, program and budget decisions will have to be made concurrently in line with the various costs and benefits involved. The center's planners will have to determine needs and priorities and then decide how the center can accomplish its most important goals most efficiently.

Forms of budgets. There are essentially two ways in which the costs of child care can be developed and presented: by means of a functional budget and by means of a line-item budget.

A functional budget is one in which costs are arranged according to the particular tasks which need to be done. It is a useful device for planning basic and supplementary activities and for exploring the range of alternative ways in which tasks can be performed. A planner will study his physical resources, manpower, and funds in view of his functional budget in order to determine his alternatives and limits and how to make most efficient use of what is available to him.

At some point, functional budgets are translated into appropriate job descriptions and a line-item budget. This budget lists all expenses by item and is the one actually used to conduct the financial business of the center.

A preliminary review of the ABT data shows that all child care arrangements have a core set of functions which include child care and teaching, administration, feeding, health, occupancy, and transportation.

These standard functions are performed in many different ways, however, with widely varying costs. A functional budget helps to locate these differences clearly so that new providers may plan their resources in a manner best suited to their situation and wishes. Other functions can be broken down into categories of those which are sometimes performed, and those which are idiosyncratic to a particular center. Both kinds of budgets will be fully discussed and illustrated in the final ABT analysis.

Cutting the costs of child care services. The actual costs incurred in providing child care can be reduced below the real costs of operation in several ways.

Most child care arrangements make use of volunteers in various capacities. ABT statistics show that an average of 23% of all costs were donated, with a range of 0% to 64%. Various arrangements are possible for volunteers--high school and university students, parents, the elderly, and community people. Volunteers can be used to help in renovation of facilities, to build equipment, to work on fund-raising activities.

They can also be used successfully in the classroom. Volunteers who work with children should have a regular schedule of attendance and be required to follow it. They should be supervised to fit easily into the daily routine and should be provided some initial orientation to child care programs and child development. The need of children for stable one-to-one relationships with adults should not be compromised to the need for keeping costs down.

Costs may also be reduced through donations of equipment and in some cases of space, like church basements.

Food costs can be reduced if a center is eligible to participate in the various Federal programs which provide hot lunches, milk supplements, or surplus food.

The ABT analysis will discuss how to use resources most efficiently and how to take into account the possible economies and diseconomies of

scale. Child care is an expensive service under any conditions and the most important consideration is careful planning and use of resources.

Child Care Arrangements and Child Care Systems

The above discussion has focused primarily on the costs of individual child care arrangements. One final factor to consider is whether an arrangement is operating autonomously or is part of a larger system network of centers and home care facilities. Child care systems vary enormously in the degree to which functions and services are centralized in a central agency or decentralized among the individual facilities. The particular structure chosen for any child care system will obviously affect the costs of its component parts. It is possible that some structures are more efficient, or work better, than others, and these issues will be explored in the ABT analysis. This will be an important consideration for planners of the Impact Study.

III

PROGRAM SETTINGS AND TYPES

The child development literature of the 60's abounds with descriptions of educational programs which attempt to meet one or more of the needs of young children. Some programs have been endorsed by middle-class mothers for years, but the majority spring from a belated interest in remediation of the harmful effects of poverty. The work of Bloom (1964) and Hunt (1961) holds out theoretical hope for intervention at earlier ages. The theories are inadequate, however, for explaining what happens to an infant as he grows up. Developmental psychologists cannot yet tell us in detail about the transformation of an infant into an adult.

For instance, we know that an infant is more apt to develop well if he forms an attachment to a single caretaker during the first year of life, but we cannot spell out what this attachment means or precisely why it is important. Without a knowledge of such details, different types of intervention are merely best guesses rather than empirically supported mandates.

Since existing theories are inadequate tools for understanding all aspects of development, a child care planner can only look at existing programs and gauge their effects on children. Here too there are problems. Much research which assesses the effects of various programs fails to determine what aspects of the program work with what kinds of children. Even in the cases where a particular program seems to produce significant changes in some aspect of behavior, the critical factors in this success have not been isolated. The changes could have been due to a certain staff member, the curriculum, the setting, or an interaction among these and other variables. Since the

critical variables in each program are not known, no one program can be proposed as a national model.

Another difficulty in choosing one existing program over another is that very few of the programs which have been evaluated have provided full-time child care. Characteristically, they are university-based research and development projects that run from one to four hours per day. For example, the Airline House Conference on Child Development and Day Care contacted nearly two hundred existing preschool programs to request curriculum materials and program descriptions. Of the forty programs which responded, none provided full-day child care. We cannot assume that a two-hour-per-day program which has success with certain kinds of children will be appropriate to the needs of these children when expanded to occupy the whole day.

Even if we had accurate information about the influences that various program components have on children, there is the further question of who decides whether a particular influence is good or bad, desirable or undesirable. If we believe that parents have primary responsibility for bringing up their children, then parents should be allowed to choose the program most consistent with their own values and life-style. This would naturally lead to a diversity of appropriate program models.

Thus, there are at least four arguments to be made against specifying one single program model for child care: (1) Developmental psychologists cannot tell us the specific needs of children. (2) We do not know what aspects of a particular program promote gains in different children. (3) We do not have adequate information about full-day child care operations. (4) Not all parents would choose the same program model, even if all these cause and effect relationships could be specified.

While it would be inappropriate to recommend a single program model for child care, we can present the information which is available so that parents may make their choice in an informed way. This chapter begins by outlining some of the possible differences between the child's home and the child care situation; this information will provide a framework within which parents may begin to understand which particular child care program may be best suited to their own family needs and preferences. We then sketch the possible settings for day care and some of the advantages and disadvantages of each. Next, information is presented about different kinds of child care programs: their objectives, their daily operation, and how they may relate to children from birth to adolescence. We describe some of the areas in which legal standards for day care have been set, and finally discuss some of the ways in which quality can be defined and influenced by parents and planners.

Differences Between the Home and the Day Care Environment

Prescott and Jones (1970)* have observed a number of dimensions along which home and child care environments differ. They studied thirty proprietary day care centers, five nonprofit centers and fifteen Board of Education centers. These were not research or demonstration centers, nor were they centers which had been specifically identified as good centers. Rather, they are typical examples of what currently exists in out-of-home child care settings.

The findings of this study indicate that present day care environments do not perform the same functions as the home; the differences

* Unpublished work reported by LaGrosse, "Day Care: Effects and Affects," 1970.

cited have important implications for the quality of the child's and his family's life. However, caution must be used in interpreting these findings. There is a distinction between those differences which exist now and those differences which might exist in a future system. Some of the characteristics observed in this study which parents might find objectionable may not be inherent characteristics of all child care settings; they may simply be the result of insufficient attention paid to the needs of children. Much of the dissatisfaction with existing child care arrangements concerns precisely this issue of low quality programs and what must be done to upgrade them. With this important qualification in mind, we present the findings of the Prescott and Jones study expressed as comparisons between home and day care environments.

Expression of emotion - control of emotion. Programs in day care centers appear to be marked by an absence of strong feelings and of activities which might evoke them. Homes, in contrast, are places where expression of strong emotion is expected if not always approved.

Nurturance - promotion of independence. Day care gives children less access to adult attention than they would have in many homes. Even the young child must get along with relatively little nurturance and personal attention, and adapt to being cared for by a series of adults. In the home, however, a mother whose primary satisfaction comes from her child's dependence on her may be reluctant to let him do things for himself. Day care can offer a healthy chance for self-help.

Focus on individuality - focus on group membership. In some homes, a child's self-knowledge is fostered through his almost unlimited access to an adult who can answer his questions of the moment and who will respond with warmth and concern to his attempts to comprehend the world and give it form through language. Under these

circumstances it is clear to the child that he is important, and that how he feels and what he does matter to others.

In group day care, even in the best of centers, individual attention is limited, and in those of poor quality it is almost nonexistent unless the child blatantly misbehaves. Such an impersonal environment is likely to reduce rather than enhance a child's sense of his own importance and to offer relatively limited experiences which foster a sense of self-identity. One liability in day care lies in the likelihood that neither parent nor teacher will be able to pay close attention to the unfolding and development of the individual child.

On the other hand, only in large families are children at home likely to develop a clear sense of membership in a group of children. Group day care can offer rich opportunities for mastering a variety of social skills.

Relationships with wide age range of children - relationships with same-age children. In large families and neighborhoods with children of different ages, much of children's learning comes from each other. Many day care centers tend to be organized in age-graded classes. To be a four-year-old in a group of other four-year-olds for two or three hours a day offers the child an excellent opportunity to test himself and interact with other children very much like him, without interference from older or younger children. But restricting his experiences to age peers for the entire day fails to provide the kinds of learning that can occur in other settings.

Relationships with adults - relationships with children. Day care offers children the opportunity to develop new relationships with adults outside the family, as well as with children, and to gain confidence and skill in leaving parents and forming friendships. However, many centers offer children very limited opportunities to observe

adults in varied roles. At home, the child is able to observe the daily activities of adults in the home and neighborhood. When day care centers permit children to interact with visitors, and with regular personnel performing interesting tasks, the learning environment is enriched.

Little adult supervision - close adult supervision. At home, adults have many things to do besides looking after children. The child is often out of their sight; consequently he has the freedom to be on his own and to invent his own activities, so long as he refrains from attracting negative attention from adults. However, some homes offer relatively few activities from which to choose, either because space and materials are limited or because many potential activities (water play in the sink, investigation of mother's bureau) are forbidden.

Day care centers usually offer many potential activities, but they are more closely controlled and supervised. Concern for safety in group day care tends to severely restrict a child's freedom: he is seldom permitted to remain indoors if the group is outside, and most play yards are designed so that he cannot go off into secret crannies.

Children learn obedience and gain security from assigned tasks; they gain a keener sense of who they are in relation to the world by making their own choices.

Activity - rest. Day care centers carefully schedule the children's day to provide balance between activity and rest. Where this schedule is rigid, however, it may fail to coincide with the rhythm of some individual children's needs. At home a child is more likely to determine his own schedule. However, some homes are overstimulating, while others encourage only inactivity (such as television-watching) for long periods.

Flexible time schedule - fixed time schedule. Time schedules in homes where the mother does not work are usually flexible. They may become more complex and demanding if older children must be transported to school, or if a father works nights and must sleep during the day.

A mother who has a full-time job is likely to be constrained in her daily relations with her children by the urgency of household tasks, schedules to meet, and fatigue. Since the strains of this scheduling are likely to be experienced by all children in full day care, relaxed scheduling within the center seems important in providing children with a balanced experience.

Varied, challenging environments - stable, safe environment. Group day care generally offers good physical care, a stability of routine, and a setting designed to be safe for young children. It often fails to offer children opportunities to test the limits of their skill. For children of this age, many skills are physical. Play equipment such as tricycles, swings, and slides are mastered relatively soon, and teachers are often overly restrictive toward any attempt to use them in unorthodox (and more challenging) ways.

Homes have an advantage in not being smoothly programmed. The mother primarily occupies herself with a continual meeting of immediate household needs, many of them having little to do with children. This activity creates a broad range of stimuli. Often the circumstances arising from solving problems provide her children opportunities to see how the adult world operates and how the unexpected can be handled. In contrast, a smoothly running day care center can quite easily inculcate children from unplanned encounters.

Prescott and Jones conclude by stating the importance of having a variety of day care facilities with a variety of programs in order to fit the needs of different family styles, different children's needs, and different child-rearing patterns.

Program Settings

There are two principal settings for child care programs: in a home or in a center. Each setting has certain advantages and disadvantages.

In the home child care facility, especially if it is nearby, the family atmosphere gives the child the sense of a familiar, secure place, which minimizes his anxiety about separation from his parents. Also the children of one family can remain together. This not only provides reinforcement for the family unit but also allows a child to remain exposed to a mixed-age group. Transportation is usually unnecessary. The convenience of this situation for the parents is very attractive.

But it might be impossible or beyond economic reality to license some homes. The issue of quality control is complicated: how to insure that what transpires on a day-to-day basis is in the best interests of the children. The problem of support services is particularly difficult in home day care; it may be reduced by provision for visits from health and nutrition specialists, teachers, social workers, etc. Even then, when day care is provided by only one adult (possible in groups of six or fewer children) a potentially dangerous situation arises when one child needs to be taken somewhere in an emergency. It may be necessary to require that another adult be available when more than one child is being cared for.

The home day care arrangement generates many varieties: the size of the group ("family day care home" consists of six or fewer; "group day care home" has up to twelve), and its composition. A home day care arrangement is potentially flexible and convenient. Parents will be able to negotiate with the provider about the ages of acceptable children, scheduling needs, and size of the operation.

A second major class of setting is one where a child goes to a center rather than to a home for care. This center could be near the child's home, where the parent works, or perhaps in a mobile facility. Such a center offers the best possibility for good staff training and adequate facilities. It is in a better position to offer and coordinate comprehensive day care service for both children and parents. A large center might take children of all ages, alleviating the problems large families often have finding facilities for children of different ages.

On the other hand, the larger the center the fewer there will be and consequently the further some children will have to travel. Also, start-up costs are high and operating expenses include a substantial investment in administration. Furthermore, a parent may feel that large centers are impersonal and not interested in his individual family. Large centers may also be the most resistant to parental input.

Program Types

Infancy Programs *

Care for children younger than age three (especially in groups) is one of the most controversial aspects of any day care program.

When a great deal of individual attention is given to each infant in such a setting, it seems possible to facilitate rather than retard his development. Some crucial factors appear to be frequent and interesting contacts with adults and stimulation of the infant in all sensory modes.

* Much of the information upon which this discussion is based was provided by Marshall Heth (1970).

Unlike pre-school programs for children three to five, however, it is impossible systematically to differentiate programs on the basis of the program activities or the way in which activities are performed during the day. Most designers of infancy programs seem to agree that the child should be read to, played with, and given opportunities for one-to-one contact with adults. Further, they endorse access to varied materials, a broad range of experiences, and language and perceptual stimulation.

The question then arises: should an infancy curriculum be a program for the infant (to teach him things) or a guide for the caretaker (descriptions of areas of development to cover and suggested activities)? The latter is more tenable. There is no evidence that it is inherently better to teach an infant a list of words so that he can repeat them than to wait two or three months for him to learn them in a more natural context. It is most reasonable simply to make sure that the infant has many opportunities for learning through a wide range of activities. Some experienced caretakers will have a generous repertoire of such activities. For less experienced caretakers, a curriculum can indicate important areas of development and suggest things to do in each area.

Some examples of these activities, goals and materials are listed below; they are organized by developmental process and age of infant.*

Gross Motor Development

- 0-6 months: muscle control, trunk movement, body movement.
- 7-12 months: creeping and crawling games.
- 13-24 months: walking, running, jumping, rolling, throwing.

* A detailed list of activities and developmental goals has been compiled in the Infancy Committee manual, Airline House Conference on Day Care/Child Development, Huntington and Provence 1970.

Fine Motor Control

- 0-6 months: eye-hand coordination, reaching, grasping.
- 7-12 months: finger and toe play, eye-hand coordination, push-pull games, block building, feeding self with fingers.
- 13-24 months: eye-hand coordination, coloring, scribbling, tracing.

Sensory Development

- 0-6 months: mobiles, bright toys, rattles, bells, many textured objects (hard, soft, rough, smooth); singing to infant, rocking infant, water play (warm and cold).
- 7-12 months: hide and seek toys, books, nursery rhymes, musical toys, rhythms, variety of textured objects; lying, sitting, standing, jumping, water play, blowing on hand.
- 13-24 months: activities during this age period are not designed for sensory stimulation *per se*; they are included in cognitive and language activities.

Cognitive and Language Development

- 0-6 months: talking, singing, repetition of baby's sounds, naming objects.
- 7-12 months: talking, singing, repetition; verbal instruction (put your hand there), imitation (wave bye-bye); identify objects, match objects; cause-effect toys, picture books; peek-a-boo.
- 13-24 months: ask and answer questions; verbalize needs, wants and feelings; carry out instructions; elaborate language taught by play, gesture language, body usage (mirror play, doll play); size perception and relationships between objects, puzzles; concepts--colors, numbers, time.

Emotional Development

- 0-6 months: smiling, eye contact play, mirror play; call on infant by name; no punishment.
- 7-12 months: favorite toy or blanket; frequent praise and encouragement, smiling, eye contact; identify nose, eyes, ears, etc.; opportunity for exploration and curiosity behaviors.

13-24 months: encouragement and praise of self help skills and independence (step stool by sink); dress up and pretend play, exploratory play, aggressive play (tearing, pounding nail).

Social Development

0-6 months: frequently have child together with other family members.
7-12 months: play with other children and adults, social play (peek-a-boo), opportunity for playing by himself.
13-24 months: group play (singing, London bridge), water play with others, family outings.

These activities are ones which seem appropriate to any of the possible settings: a child's own home, a day care home, and a day care center. In each of these settings, it is desirable to structure the care given so that each child has both much one-to-one contact with an adult and the opportunity to interact with other children.

Pre-school Programs

Studies have been made of individual, experimental, part-day, pre-school programs, as well as comparisons of their efficacy. However, there are a number of problems in comparing programs--different objectives, different kinds of children, etc. Most of the available literature is insufficient for determining how programs are different and why they have different effects.

The following classification scheme has been developed by Mayer (1970). She describes four early education approaches and examines their differences. The advantage of her conceptualization of the various models is that it gives the parent a feeling for what goes on in each approach.

The child development model. The child development model has served as a basis for most pre-schools serving middle-class populations. It is also the model which was, in the beginning phase of Head Start, most widely adopted for use with disadvantaged children. In its applica-

tion to disadvantaged populations, the child development approach has been called the "enrichment strategy."

The curriculum settings of the child development model are broken into "activity areas." There is a construction area with building blocks of different sizes and shapes, and accessories such as trucks and rubber figures. Many classrooms have a woodwork area with tools and different sizes of soft wood to saw and hammer. There is an art area with paints, clay, paper, crayons, scissors and other raw materials. A housekeeping area is furnished with a toy stove, sink, and refrigerator, doll carriages, tables and chairs, tea set, etc. A library corner is stocked with picture books and story books and a quiet area supplied with puzzles and games such as jolt and dominoes. There is a large space--often including a piano--for such group activities as music and movement, rest, and story time. The classroom also contains plants and animals and sometimes a science table with magnets, batteries, and similar materials. An outdoor play area is furnished with swings, a climbing apparatus, see-saws, and often equipment for sand and water play.

In addition to classroom activities and outdoor play, trips into the community are a basic component of the curriculum. These trips can become the focal point of themes, such as "transportation" or "community workers," providing a specific basis for the content of dramatic play, artwork, and other classroom activities.

A visitor to various types of pre-schools would probably find the child development-centered classroom the "noisiest" one. Some children will be building together or playing house while others listen to a story or paint; children are free to choose and change activities according to their particular desires under the supervision of the teacher and assistants. One teacher might be stationed outside on the playground, another reading or singing with a few children gathered around her. A third might be assisting children with individual projects.

The verbal-cognitive model. Based on the Perry Pre-school Project (Weikart et al., 1967), the materials and "activity areas" of the verbal-cognitive model are essentially like those of the child development model. The difference is that, in the verbal-cognitive model, the teacher takes a much more directive role, planning specific activities for the children. This role often requires her to be the center of the children's attention. Throughout the day, the teacher is continuously talking to the children, questioning and responding to them.

A typical day in such a classroom would begin with the children in a circle for a "planning session." After general discussion and perhaps a group game, the teacher would present the activities for the first part of the day. She might show the group a paper plate and felt cut-outs in the shape of eyes, nose, mouth, and ears, with a jar of paste. The children are then asked what the materials are, where they could be found in the room, and what can be done with them. A child demonstrates how to paste a face on the plate. The children are asked to point to their own eyes, nose, and so forth. Then a fire truck is taken out and the procedure is repeated. A third article might be a box of gelatin, and a discussion would follow about how to make gelatin and what happens to the contents in the box. Then each child selects an activity and goes to the appropriate area. A teacher stationed at each area supervises or participates in the activity. In the block corner, children may be playing fireman and the teacher may take on the role of a victim of a fire. The children making gelatin are constantly asked questions about what is happening as they work.

A child may finish an activity and remain in the same area doing other things, or he may change areas. Later the group may be brought together for a story, followed by a small group activity such as sorting and classifying games, or a discussion of the attributes of certain toys. Juice time also provides an opportunity for specific learnings: as cups and napkins are passed out, they are counted and their colors are discussed. A child may also be asked to direct the distribution of cookies or juice as if he were the teacher.

At the end of the day, the children come back together for a session to discuss the events of the day.

The sensory-cognitive model. The classroom of the sensory-cognitive model, based on the Montessori Method (Montessori, 1912; Orem, 1966), is arranged in a systematic manner. Each material has an assigned place and is visible and accessible. Although there are small chairs and low tables in the room, much of the floor is free of furniture. Each child has his own small rug to roll out on the floor and many of the children's activities consist of working with various materials on their individual rugs.

The Montessori materials can be grouped into three broad categories: those designed to develop sensory skills; those designed to allow children to carry out practical life activities; and those designed for teaching writing or arithmetic. The art activities and dramatic play in both the child development and verbal-cognitive models are not provided for in the sensory-cognitive model.

Children are free to select their own activities even though teacher suggestions are sometimes offered. The classroom atmosphere is one of "quiet activity." In general, children work individually with the materials, only occasionally joined by a teacher to demonstrate the use of a particular material. Opportunities for outdoor gardening and care of plants and animals are also provided. Children in the Montessori model take care of their own classroom: they wash the tables, sweep the floor, return materials to their proper place, and so forth.

An observer in a Montessori classroom might be struck by the extent to which the teacher remains in the background rather than directing children's activities, and by the children's sustained involvement with a particular material--working with that material over and over again. While the other models we discuss may or may not have children of different ages in the same classroom, the Montessori Method is designed specifically to include children of different ages. The materials are graded accordingly and sequenced in difficulty.

The verbal-direct instruction model. A fourth program, based on Bereiter and Englemann's (1966) academically oriented pre-school, can be called the verbal-direct instruction model. Unlike the other curriculum models described above, this program is designed specifically for disadvantaged children; it is intended to provide them with the information and skills needed to succeed in first grade. The curriculum consists of direct instruction in language, arithmetic, and reading, with time for music and structured play, when children have their choice of listening to a story, looking at a book, working on a puzzle, or drawing. During the music period, the group meets as a whole; songs are chosen and words changed to reinforce the rules taught from the prescribed curriculum.

Each teacher in the program takes responsibility for one subject area. The children are grouped--on the basis of ability--into three small units that rotate from one subject area and teacher to the next.

The reading curriculum is based on a phonic approach. The mode of instruction in language, as well as arithmetic, is intense oral drill. The basic sentence pattern is the identity statement. ("This is a cup. This is not a cup.") When this pattern is mastered, more complex patterns are introduced. ("This cup is full. This cup is not full.") Concepts are taught as rules that are to be learned by rote and then applied to analogous examples. In arithmetic, the sentence pattern is replaced by the number pattern. For example, children learn " $1 + 0 = 1$ ", and the rule "when you add zero, you always end up with the same number you start out with." This is extended by having the children learn to recite in unison: " $1 + 0 = 1$; $2 + 0 = 2$; $3 + 0 = 3$; etc."

The following list of examples of the four program types is not exhaustive. Further, each program may have elements of other types, but in general they seem to be most closely related to the assigned model.

Child Development Model

Many Head Start Centers (Kornblith and Temp, 1968)
Bank Street (Malinich and Bibber, 1968)
Urbana: Karnes Traditional Program (Karnes, 1969)
Weikart Traditional or Unit Program (Weikart, 1969)

Verbal-Cognitive Model

Perry Pre-school Project (Weikart et. al. 1967)
Early Training Project (Gray and Klaus, 1968)
Diagnostically Based Curriculum (Hodges, Spiker and McCandless, 1966)
Early Childhood Program of the Institute for Developmental Studies (Deutsch, 1967)

Sensory-Cognitive Model

Traditional Montessori (Orem, 1966; Montessori, 1912)
Kohlberg Montessori (Kohlberg, 1968)
New Nursery School (Minnicht and Meier, 1967)
New York State Montessori (Di Lorenzo, 1969)

Verbal-Direct Instruction Model

Urbana: An Academically Oriented Pre-School (Bereiter-Englemann, 1966)
New York State: Bereiter-Englemann (Di Lorenzo, 1969)
Ypsilanti: Bereiter-Englemann--Language Training (Weikart, 1969)

School-Age Programs

There exists no formal literature on child care programs before and after school for children from six to fourteen. Although organizations like the YMCA, YWCA, Police Athletic League, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Little League, and various churches and settlement houses provide services for children of this age range, they are usually seasonal or part-time. No program descriptions are available which provide adequate models for consistent five- or seven-day care. This precludes a discussion of the type developed for infancy and pre-school programs. A reasonable alternative approach is to indicate some of the needs to be met and problems which arise when designing programs for school-age children.

Sessions. A cut along the time dimension exposes the need for before-school and after-school, vacation, and summer programs. The before-school programs should provide breakfast and, depending on how early the child arrives, the chance to get some more rest. After-school programs should also provide some food--at least an afternoon snack and possibly dinner if the parent cannot pick his child up until late in the evening.

School systems have many short vacations, lasting from one day to two weeks. Parents need to feel comfortable about their children's activities for such periods of time. It is also important to recognize that this is, in fact, the child's vacation. Maximizing his enjoyment and relaxation appears preferable to mounting academic crash efforts.

Summer vacations are long enough to provide an opportunity to mix "work" and "play." There is a need for summer camps, swimming programs, jobs, unusual educational and creative opportunities. There is also a need for some systematic efforts at remediation and academic enrichment. The importance of summer programs is indicated by Hayes and Grether (1969) in a study of New York schoolchildren. They found that much of the difference between reading achievement scores of middle-class and lower-class children at the end of grade school could be accounted for by the cumulative drop in the lower-class children's scores between June and September of each year.

Age ranges. Six-year-olds and fourteen-year-olds are so different that distinct plans must be made for various ages. One of the first questions community planners must decide is the age range for eligibility for child care entitlements. Up until the sixth grade, most children will need some degree of out-of-school supervision. The extent to which older children will acknowledge the authority of the person or agency to whom their entitlements are awarded will vary not only with the youngster and his family's expectations, but also with the ingenuity and flexibility with which programs are devised.

(1) **Elementary School Children.** Children of this age group can join home day care centers after school, benefitting from the family-like nature of these facilities. If they join pre-school centers, multi-age programs in the afternoon in which the big brother/big sister aspect of their lives is emphasized will be necessary. Or they can go to peer-group centers where programs are designed especially for them: tutoring, educational enrichment, and experience in the arts and sports. Some parents and children may prefer to arrange a combination of peer group and multi-age after-school care. For example, such children might be part of a group day care home but spend one afternoon with a Girl Scout troop or boys' club program or perhaps two or three afternoons under the supervision of the Little League.

Rather than designing new after-school programs, it may be reasonable to allocate some funds to existing ones, enabling them to upgrade and expand their offerings. If any program for children of this age group is to be successful, it must be responsive to the interests of individual children and to the availability of community resources.

(2) **Adolescents.** The special needs of the older school-age group create important and complicated issues. For instance, who gets the entitlement--the adolescent or his parents? Older children should accept responsibility for their own lives. It seems therefore reasonable to give them a tangible rather than a rhetorical opportunity to do so.

If a program for adolescents is to be useful and relevant to them, it may well be controversial. Attention to such topics as minority culture, politics, sex education, and drug information is appropriate; program operators should expect them to be asked for by students.

Adolescents also need some form of vocational counseling. Most schools are not equipped to answer this need and supplementary help would be an important child care service. Many options are available for providing training. Members of the community could be licensed to

take on adolescents as apprentices in their businesses. Groups of adolescents could get together with an adult sponsor and create their own businesses or programs. Paying jobs for adolescents could be provided within the child care system itself.

Probably the most important consideration for school-age programs is that of program control. If a program is to work with older children, they must have a say in its governance and a real stake in its operation. This demands a variety of open-ended program options, allowing each child to find one that interests him enough to make a commitment.

Review of Standards for Day Care Centers *

For years, individual states have set standards for the regulation of out-of-home care for children in an effort to assure that minimum conditions necessary for safety and health are maintained. The standards have frequently been used as tools to upgrade facilities showing inadequate attention to basic requirements.

How are the parents to evaluate the standards set by their states and local communities? How are they to assess the adequacy of the arrangements they make for the care of their children? What are reasonable standards? One center may be physically cramped but filled with warm, attentive, knowledgeable caretakers; another may have more than an adequate physical space but be devoid of visually stimulating objects and affective warmth. In arriving at a decision, how should parents weigh the pros and cons?

Upgrading the quality of child care applies to people as well as places, but few states have legislated the psychological characteristics of caretakers. The project agency will have to deal with this issue when

it decides on staffing and training requirements (see Chapter IV). But parents must also learn to judge for themselves whether their child's needs are being met.

Admission policy. Most states require a certificate of health from the child or a complete medical examination within two weeks of admission. Many require that a completed immunization record be on file at the center.

Building construction. All states specify that the local building and fire codes must be met. Several insist that a center which cares for young children must house them completely on the first floor; others simply say that if children are above the ground level, gates must be provided at all stairways. Several states insist that rooms more than three feet below ground may not be used for children, and most require windows in children's rooms.

Safety. In addition to local building and fire regulations, most states demand the immediate availability of telephone service. Other requirements are that stairways leading to rooms used by children shall be equipped with railings at a suitable height, and that all doors and windows shall be provided with screens. Several states prohibit the use of portable heaters, and require that fans be placed above the reach of children.

Medicines, cleaning solvents, poisons, firearms, sharp pointed scissors, and other potentially dangerous items must be kept in areas inaccessible to the children. Several states require some staff member to know first aid.

Minimum space. Twelve states require a minimum indoor space of 35 square feet per child, while others range from 20 to 50 square feet. Some states also specify a required amount of air space, from 200 to 300 cubic feet per child.

All states require that an outdoor play area be available for the children's use (from 60 to 100 square feet per child), although only

* Based on a review which originally appeared in *Huntington and Provence* (1970).

four insist that it be either adjacent or readily accessible to the center. Several states require that the area be enclosed, drained, and free from all hazards.

Sleeping facilities. Some states require an individual cot, crib, or bed for each child; many explicitly require cribs for infants. Several specify that mattresses must be firm and have waterproof coverings, and two states forbid the use of pillows in infants' cribs. Eighteen states specify the amount of space which must be left between the cots or cribs, usually a minimum of two feet.

Diapering and toilet-training. The states seem fairly evenly distributed on two issues: whether the child should be changed at his own crib or on a common counter surface with individual coverings for each child; and whether or not the soiled diapers should be rinsed. Several states recommend the use of disposable diapers, and one requires that all soiled diapers (disposable) shall be incinerated daily. Most states require a covered, waterproof container for soiled diapers. Some specifically mention that attendants should wash hands before and after diapering an infant.

All states insist that toilet training should not be forced, and several specify that it shall be done according to parental plan. In some states, no child may be left on the toilet unsupervised, or for longer than a few minutes at a time.

Food preparation and feeding. Most states explicitly require each center to have approved utensils and equipment for preparation, storage, and preservation of food, and all require that the kitchen be a separate room. The meal served to all children who remain at the center for longer than four or five hours must be well balanced, and in most states it must be hot.

Most infant nurseries require that the parental feeding plan be followed. Formula should be prepared either by the parent or commercially; if it must be done at the center, a written record should be

made of the parent's or doctor's recommended formula for each child, and it must be prepared in a separate room. All centers require that bottles, nipples, and bottle caps be thoroughly cleansed or sterilized between use; many state that they be individually marked with the child's name.

Health. Thirteen states require each child to be given a daily medical inspection by the operator of the center before he is allowed to join the group. Many states also specify that a fully equipped first aid kit be readily accessible and that the staff have a practical knowledge of first aid. The center must have arrangements for emergency medical aid to be available at all times, and usually a signed statement by the parent or guardian releasing the director of the center from any liability. Some states provide for periodic checkups for all children up to age two-and-a-half or three. All require that the children spend some time (often as much as two hours) outdoors each day, weather permitting.

Staff. Staffing requirements vary greatly among the states. Most require children to be constantly supervised, but the quality and kind of supervision differs.

Most states require staff members to present a certificate of health. The director of a center must usually be between 21 and 65 years of age; most states insist that no staff member shall be younger than 18, and some require that children not be left under the sole control of anyone under 21.

Some states insist that two staff members be on duty at all times regardless of how many children there are at the center, and recommend that those who care for children be exempt from any other duties. Many suggest that separate staff be hired for kitchen and custodial work. Others require the presence of a registered nurse for varying times during the week, especially for the care of very young infants.

Staff/child ratios are established by the majority of states, but the ratios themselves vary widely. The average requirements are: for two-year-olds, one staff member for eight to ten children; for three-year-olds, one staff member for ten to fifteen children; for four-year-olds and five-year-olds, one staff member for ten to twenty children.

Discipline. Most states outlaw physical punishment. Several suggest that discipline should be remedial rather than punitive. Some states explicitly forbid the use of deprivation of food or rest as a means of discipline.

Infants. Many organizations have for years opposed the care of infants in groups. The Federal Intergency Day Care Requirements (1968) state that children under the age of three should not ordinarily be accepted in day care centers serving over twelve children. Nevertheless, twenty-three states when the regulations were issued had functioning statutes which allowed infants to be entered in day care from birth; an additional sixteen states permitted the care of children older than twelve months.

Sixteen states mention the special needs of infants: they need to be held and cuddled; they benefit from regularity of routine and from having the same caretaker every day; each child needs to progress at his own speed. Several states require that no crying shall go unheeded.

Many states require that infants be kept in small groups (from four to ten babies), completely separated from older children.

Parent education. Only eight states mention the education of parents in their day care standards. Two of these encourage parental visits to the center, require that the parent be advised of the progress and needs of his child, and suggest that interviews with the parents be scheduled.

Insurance. Only eight states mention insurance; several require each center to carry liability insurance; others require workmen's compensation, or fire and theft insurance. Several states suggest that if transportation is offered, all vehicles be insured.

Transportation. Most states require the individual center to arrange with the parents how the child will be transported. Only eight states regulate transportation provided by the center; several require or recommend that a second responsible adult, other than the driver, be present whenever there are children in the vehicle.

Quality Control

These existing state standards principally evidence concern for the physical well-being of children in day care facilities. Earlier sections of this chapter have argued that educators and psychologists have not yet isolated the specific experiences which lead a child to his optimal emotional and cognitive development. Therefore, we cannot suggest that a center adopt one particular type of curriculum on the basis of objective evidence.

Since the issue of quality control of program content cannot be met by describing a model curriculum, more indirect strategies must be sought. At least four seem reasonable.

- (1) The vendor payment mechanism itself provides one such strategy. Parents can withdraw their child from a child care center if they feel that he is not receiving quality care. This strategy places responsibility on the parent: he must know what he wants from the child care system and be able to evaluate the service he is receiving. A crucial task of the project must be to educate parents who receive entitlements to realize the needs of their children and articulate these with requests for appropriate services. (See Manual, Chapters I and V.)
- (2) Program quality can be improved through appropriate training and staffing strategies. (See Manual, Chapter IV.)
- (3) Program diversity and improvement can be encouraged through the issuing of grants for innovation.
- (4) The fourth quality control strategy depends on some form of program evaluation. In pre-school programs operated as part of a

research project, this evaluation has usually been done according to a summative model. Tests are given to children before and after they receive the experimental treatment, and their scores are compared to those of similar "control" children who did not receive the treatment. The information gained from this approach to evaluation has been limited for two reasons. First, this research has determined only whether "experimental" children gain more than the control group; it has not determined what particular aspects, if any, of a program contributed to its success or failure. Second, such summative evaluation is unlikely to have any effect on the ongoing activities of the program. Data is gathered only before treatment begins and after treatment ends.

In order to use evaluative information to improve a program which is in operation, data must be collected, analyzed, and the results fed back into the program. This formative approach seems best suited to meet the requirements of child care providers who need to know whether what they are doing for children is hurting or helping them.

Formative evaluation requires some operational statement about what a provider (and the parents whose children he is caring for) wants to do and how he plans to do it. It further requires articulating how he is going to know whether or not he has achieved the desired results within a fairly short, well-defined period of time. If the results he had hoped for do not materialize, then further program planning is required.

The project agency may decide to require this formative approach. One form it could take is to require all providers to file a statement of objectives and a system to determine whether or not they have been met. Providers would then have to design their program with these goals in mind, and periodically revise them on the basis of their experience.

A variation of this procedure would be to have some external group monitor the various programs, testing performance against the provider's initial statement of objectives, and feeding the results back into the program. This might be done either by the project agency or by a separate consulting service.

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IV

STAFFING AND TRAINING

Four questions underlie staffing decisions which must be made in the Impact Study. The first asks at what level (Federal, state, local, project agency, or individual child care arrangement) should standards for staffing and training be set. Probably some standards will be set at each level.--the question is one of proportion. Standards set at one level or another will have different consequences for the development of the Impact Study.

The second question asks what the standards should be. Should they be high in the hope that high quality child care will thus be insured? Should they be minimal in an attempt to encourage as much diversity and local innovation as possible? Or should they be highly articulated in an attempt to be sure that several commonly-agreed-upon areas of concern (cognitive development, emotional growth, health care, adequate food, opportunity for parent participation, etc.) are in fact attended to in every day care facility? Should they be high in some respects and low in others?

Thirdly, where should the funds for meeting these standards lie? In a special training grant? With the project agency? Or in the budgets of individual centers? The source of the funds affects the magnitude of training effort that can be mounted, the diversity of staffing and training that can be encouraged, and the degree of autonomy which the project or centers will have in designing and implementing their own plans.

The fourth question is how are the standards to be enforced? At the extremes, should there be a rigid inspection system, or should the standards merely be announced periodically as hoped-for goals?

Should centers formally account for their own performance? Is the relationship between training and the improvement of standards clear enough to warrant strict training requirements? Or should training be linked to a set of incentives that will entice operators and staff into learning more about their work?

In each of these four issues there are many choices available. This chapter does not present a final, "best" solution, but points out the relationships between various dimensions of choice and the consequences of choosing certain alternatives. All the discussion that follows applies to men as well as to women. While child care personnel have traditionally been women, the Impact Study should encourage greater opportunities for men in such work.

Staffing

Since staff salaries make up a large percentage of the budget of any service organization, it is likely that up to 70% of the funds allocated for nonparental care will go into staff salaries. And, since the ratio of children to adults and the effectiveness of day care personnel contributes significantly to the quality of the children's experience, the nature of staffing patterns and the personal and professional characteristics of staff members deserve considerable thought.

Source of Standards

Since the Impact Study will be Federally funded, this report assumes that the Federal Interagency Requirements will apply to staffing. We find no significant reason to recommend changing these requirements; unless OEO wants to waive them for purposes of observing what would develop without them, we will assume that they apply.

Depending on the site selected for the demonstration project, the relevant state and municipal regulating departments will probably have some requirements in addition to those in the Federal Interagency

Day Care Requirements which must ultimately be met, or changed if they are obsolete or inappropriate. Because of the relatively short-term, demonstration nature of the project, certain requirements may possibly be waived, postponed, or avoided through litigation procedures.

The community planners may decide to establish project-wide staffing requirements in addition to already existing Federal, state, and city requirements. Such standards might affect the student/staff ratio, the use of auxiliary resources such as social workers, psychologists, etc. Such standards would be additional guarantees to parents that their children would receive adequate, even very good care in any child care facility they choose. The project agency might also decide to reserve adequate funds to provide some of those services, especially the auxiliary ones, through an organ such as a Service Corporation (described briefly in Chapter VI). This mechanism would be especially effective in enabling home child care facilities to meet the requirements. In setting such standards, the value of the entitlements and hence the size of centers' budgets should be considered. Of course, individual centers may go well beyond the minima and choose to include services and activities not required by Federal, state and project agency.

Project-wide staffing standards may affect the impact of the demonstration on the community in various ways. Mandated use of certain types of auxiliary personnel may encourage closer cooperation with those institutions (social work agencies, mental health clinics, hospitals, etc.) which would be asked to donate services or provide them at low cost; it may also strain the resources of those agencies. Mandated use of certain levels of child care staff (teachers and aides) may exhaust an already slim supply.

The community planners may choose to set no staffing requirements beyond existing Federal and state ones. Individual centers would then be relatively free to establish their own criteria, and development of quite diverse types of centers could be encouraged.

Demands for staff resources might then be varied and more adaptable to supply.

Dimensions of Staffing Standards

Staffing patterns and requirements can vary along several dimensions which are examined below. The standards which finally apply to an individual center will probably include aspects of all four dimensions.

Student/staff ratio. This is the ratio of children to "instructional" personnel in the center (teachers and aides). A useful way to determine staffing patterns is to determine how many children comprise a "good" group. Given the stamina required to interact with the children all day, the number is probably fairly small. Centers which the Study

Group has observed have children aged three to six in groups of between eight and fifteen, infants in smaller groups. To set a standard for the number of staff necessary in a day care home or center, one can estimate the number of adults who should be present for each group (one may be adequate for small groups, two for larger ones). Taking into account the numbers of hours the children will be there and the reasonable length of an adult working day, some kind of staggered scheduling will probably be necessary. To arrive at the total number of staff for a center one can multiply by the number of such groups in a center and add the number of staff necessary to supervise and coordinate several groups within a center.

Auxiliary professional staff. Non-teaching staff members are not counted in the student/staff ratio, but their functions are no less integral to the operation of adequate day care facilities. Auxiliary personnel include:

- medical personnel
- to take the medical history of each child, administer routine checkups and inoculations, provide dental work; to diagnose and treat medical problems; to serve in emergencies;

mental health personnel - to define specific problems, make referrals, consult with staff about their own and children's needs; to do testing where necessary;

nutrition personnel - to ensure that menus are adequate and food is properly prepared;

social workers - to help staff and parents in understanding the effect on the child of prolonged separation from parents, and in planning and integrating the child's total experience; to make referrals for parents or staff to appropriate local agencies when necessary.

Staffing questions involve deciding which of these auxiliary services will be required, and at what level of skill. The larger the day care center, the more likely that it will need significant amounts of any of these services, and the more likely that the center will have the resources to buy the services. A greater problem is to design project-wide mechanisms so that small centers and home day care facilities can have access to resources to meet project requirements.

Level of training of staff. At professional levels, increased specificity in staffing requirements will result in the need for highly trained and costly specialists in early childhood education. At the entry levels, increased specificity in staffing requirements will restrict entry-level positions in centers unless training is provided. The level of training required for entry-level positions in centers and for the licensing of child care workers will be crucial and will determine how many local people, previously untrained, can be employed. This requirement will also determine the cost of training them.

Choices can be made about the mix of levels in any center--some highly trained people in combination with some virtually untrained, or all slightly trained, etc. This dimension contributes to the texture and variety of a center and affects the quality of the children's experience. Implications of variations in the training dimension will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter.

Special interests. The interest of the project agency or individual center in providing additional program components (infant care, after-school activities, Montessori methods, facilities for physically handicapped children who cannot be integrated into the regular program) will have implications for appropriate staffing requirements. The project agency may wish to set such standards, may wish to approve the staffing plans of any center which intends to offer an additional program, or may leave all such decisions (beyond Federal and state requirements) up to individual centers.

In general, the higher the standards within each dimension, the more costly staff salaries and training will be. A balance must be reached between standards high enough to ensure quality, and reasonable enough that centers can afford to meet the requirements. A balance must also be reached between the amount of locally available resources which will be used and the amount of training of new personnel which will be done.

Training

The provision of appropriate training for potential child care workers will be a subject that the community planners will have to discuss carefully. The rapid increase of child care arrangements in a city will require greater numbers of skilled and experienced child workers than may be available in any one geographic area. Present providers of child care facilities, interviewed by the Study Group,

report great difficulty in finding enough adequately trained people to staff their centers. In addition, community planners may view the child care system as a source of employment for community people who want jobs and these people may be untrained in several of the appropriate skills. Because adults from the child's own community have a unique contribution to make to a center staff, it is doubly important that training opportunities for such people be available.

The vast majority of current child care arrangements are of the relatively informal, in-home variety--sometimes monetized, sometimes as a kind of barter arrangement. The project agency should provide a way that such arrangements can continue as part of the system, if they meet health, safety, and staffing requirements. Training plans and decisions should be especially oriented toward the needs of those adults working in home child care. Informal discussions with providers of such facilities indicate that many are interested in learning improved ways of spending time with children for long hours every day. Community planners will have to discuss not only what criteria, if any, should be applied to determine which home care providers will be eligible to collect entitlements and be a part of the project; they will also have to devise mechanisms for giving these providers the advice and assistance that they want, decide if any training is to be required of them and what incentive structures are to be developed.

The project agency will have first to decide whether or not it will offer any training. If it decides not to, then decisions about staff requirements will make a big difference in the types of people who can start, or work in, child care facilities. If there is no project-wide training, concurrent with relatively stringent requirements for staff skills, the individual child care centers will either have to devise ways to train potential staff (using some of their own money, raising more money, cooperating with local training institutions) or they will be dependent for their staff on already trained people--a small number

in any community. Small in-home child care arrangements would probably be few; most women now offering such services may not meet any but the most minimal requirements.

Minimal training required. The project agency could decide to offer no training, but also to impose no staffing requirements regarding level of training. Although centers could flourish and in-home arrangements could exist, we feel the Impact Study would be adversely affected by such *laissez-faire*. There would certainly be some question about the quality of such programs. Some centers would impose their own requirements on staff, but others might not.

Even if the project agency were to offer no training and to specify very little in the way of standards for levels of training among child care workers, some initial criteria for evaluating entry-level workers in centers and family care providers would be needed. The experience of paraprofessional training programs could prove useful in drawing up "entrance standards."

Admission to paraprofessional training programs is based largely on what are essentially personality dimensions--desire to work with children, sensitivity to children's needs, feeling of self-esteem, sense of responsibility, etc. These can be determined variously through interviews, through visits to the applicant's home, through observation of the applicant working with children, and combinations of these. Such a process recognizes that working with children is an endeavor requiring attributes and skills which can be distinguished, named, and observed, and that some people are better qualified for such work than others, by virtue of inclination, talent and experience. Although the administration of such intangible criteria may give rise to considerable anxiety and discussion within the community, there must be some mechanism which recognizes that some people are

better equipped to fix machines, design clothes, or type, than to work with children.

In meeting the justified questions of parents and other members of the community about the validity of such criteria, it is crucial that the gating mechanism be designed and administered by people who have recognized experiential knowledge of child care, practice in personality evaluation, and a congruence of values and standards with the community.

Moderate or extensive training required. Since the project agency will probably decide that there should be training, responsibility for specifying what kinds and levels of training should be offered will doubtless lie centrally with the project agency and individually with the centers. The project agency could say that training will be necessary but that individual centers can determine for themselves what kind and what level is most appropriate to their needs.

Some Training Arrangements

In either case, the funds for obtaining training must be provided either at the project agency level or individual center level. Below is a list, by no means exhaustive, of mechanisms for obtaining training.

(1) Training grants. The project agency could apply to another source such as the Department of Labor for a training grant. Such financial support would allow fairly specialized training to be offered at no cost to the project itself and with minimal dependence on the requirements of local training institutions. Within the guidelines of the funding agency, the project would be able to design the type of training it wanted and then buy it. Mechanisms could be designed for the appropriate training of home care providers. Because various levels of training could be offered, completion of such levels could be tied to positions of greater responsibility and prestige, carrying larger salaries. An incentive structure could thereby be set up.

Such a program would be very costly and its feasibility would depend largely on the availability of funds at the proper time and the nature of the guidelines imposed. The project agency's decision to pursue such a course would require considerable additional administrative time and talent--for consulting with people who are skilled in designing training programs of various sorts, and with eventual users, and for proposal writing and the management of a separate training operation.

(2) *Project funds.* The project agency could decide to spend a portion of its own funds on training programs. Many of the advantages described above would apply, with the drawback that if the training effort were to be large enough to be significant, a fairly large portion of the funds awarded to the project would be drawn away from providing services directly to children.

(3) *Model center.* The project agency could award some of its own funds to one of the child care centers chosen to operate as a model. This center would demonstrate optimal facilities, child/staff ratio, effectiveness of personnel, etc. There might be no training required of other child care workers but released time would be provided so that they could visit, see how an optimal center operates, get advice and new ideas, observe and attend staff meetings, etc. Such training would be relatively inexpensive and would not impose training requirements on those who did not want them, but it would provide help for those who wanted it.

However, there is a serious question of how valid the help would be. For instance, making a child care center the model would not provide the home care provider with the kind of nitty gritty advice and assistance she will need. Adding workshops, seminars, chances to work with children under supervision would increase the effectiveness, and also the cost. The project agency would need to devise an incentive system to entice providers, especially those in home-based centers, to visit such a model center.

(4) *In-center training.* The level and kind of training required could be decided upon and financed by individual centers. The project agency could pay for consultants to talk with the staffs of individual centers and help them design the type of training they want. Each center or parents council would, however, have to finance the training program themselves. Potential workers would thus have a role in determining what they were going to learn and how they were going to learn it. Experience in current paraprofessional training has demonstrated that significant participation in planning increases the effectiveness of subsequent training. The project agency, by adopting this method, would place squarely with each center the responsibility for deciding what kind of program it plans to offer and how it intends to implement its plans. Centers could use part of their own budget and/or seek outside help and cooperative arrangements with local training institutions of various kinds.

But the disadvantages of these decentralized decisions are several. Since training is costly and the resources of individual centers will be limited, the quality of the training might suffer. Again, this mechanism does not adequately deal with the problems of the home care provider who does not have adequate financial resources to finance her own training. This drawback is a considerable one if, as predicted, a significant proportion of the child care which evolves would fall in this home care category.

(5) *Assembling individual trainers.* Depending on the resources of the community finally selected, training resources will vary, both in terms of the number and kinds of individuals who could offer training and in terms of the number and types of institutions with which they are affiliated. While availability of training resources is one of the criteria in site selection, it is not the most important one. A

site may be selected which has only sparse training resources--in terms of individual talent or institutional programs and interest in cooperating. If such a site is chosen, it may be advisable for the project agency to conduct its own training. If local training resources are good, it still may be more feasible for the project to do its own training rather than try to navigate the shoals of cooperative arrangements with other institutions.

A large, centrally administered training program, funded either through project funds or through a separate training grant, would enable the project to deal primarily with individuals, rather than institutions. If it has the resources to run year-round training programs, the project could hire individuals away from institutions and even from cities outside the immediate area. This feature would allow the project to do training on its own terms, but it also would tend to set the training up in a closed system--recognized within the child care project, but perhaps not anywhere else. Hiring consultants, part-time trainers, and even several groups of trainers employed by individual centers would have much the same effect. However, the project or center which is buying the service can choose its balance of experienced teachers and child care providers, social workers, T-group leaders, and so forth.

(6) Cooperative training. If the project, or centers within it, do not have the funds to buy the trainers they want, they will have to cooperate with local training institutions--high schools which might have or develop child care curricula, community colleges with programs for careers in child care and education, colleges and universities with education departments, extension divisions of universities, night schools of various sorts, hospitals and social work agencies which have in-service training programs, non-profit consulting firms which might take on a training program, etc.

Academic credit might be awarded, thereby making greater mobility possible for trainees, and increasing the possibility that the cooperating institutions would continue to provide training after the demonstration project had ended. Nevertheless such cooperation will inevitably involve compromises on both sides, some of which might be harder for planners to justify than others. For example, a training institution might say that it would train child care workers at lower cost, or free, if child care would supply internship positions in its centers for the school's own students. Such students, however, may not be people whom the center would prefer to hire.

Training Components

There are several broad categories of training which can be used in varying forms and combinations to prepare people for work in human services and, more specifically, child-related professions. The list below is but a brief sketch--exact combinations, curricula, and procedures are much too varied and in too much dispute to be enumerated here.

(1) Exposure to appropriate disciplined fields of knowledge. In the case of child care, these include child development, sociology of family and community, health, nutrition, and curriculum for young children. This component can be offered as a pre-service course, or in combination with in-service practical training. Specific theories to be taught and pedagogical methods for teaching them are matters on which educators' judgements vary widely. An attempt to relate the theoretical and factual elements of this component with direct experience with children is generally agreed to be sound.

(2) Field work, in-service training, supervised practicum. This component might be designed to help students develop expertise in new abilities and to test theories. Opinions vary about the amount of time students should spend in this component, the degree of res-

possibility for professional work they should have, and the specific skills to be encouraged. The quality of the supervision and the availability of good role models are crucial but difficult to define.

(3) Individual growth component. Some mechanism whereby the student can grow in his own right, developing self-knowledge, interpersonal effectiveness, and self-confidence, is becoming more and more widely recognized as an important component in the continuing development of people who work with children. Opinions vary as to the methods of providing this component, the scheduling of it, and whether it should be located on site or in retreat.

(4) Orientation to the nature and purposes of child care. Attention should be given to the responsibility of child care workers in relating what happens in the center to what happens in the home and community.

(5) Remedial work. Optimal remedial work in reading, writing, or analytic thinking can be offered to those who need or desire it.

(6) Provision for continuing education. Such activities as workshops, seminars, visits to other centers, can be provided after training. Some of the activities can be brought directly to the child care worker on a periodic basis, others arranged through released time. Incentives could be developed to encourage continued participation.

V PARENT AND COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

The responsibility for raising a child belongs to his parents. A variety of institutions provide them with professional help in this task--doctors to care for a child's medical problems, teachers to enhance his education. In the same way, child care can give a child opportunities for intellectual and emotional growth he may not have at home, and also give his parents the freedom to expand their own lives.

But professionals must not be allowed to take over the fundamental job of rearing children, nor may they interfere with the parents' own preferences as to how this is done. The quality of child care that is offered, its style and focus, must be chosen and controlled by parents and responsive to their needs. At every level of the child care system, the power to make decisions must rest with the people who have the right to make them.

Moreover, the quality of family life is more important to a child's growth than any benefits found in a center. A child care system must be supportive of the total family as the child's most influential environment, providing whatever social services and education are needed to improve or enhance the health of that environment.

Parents must therefore control the system and be served by the system at every point. While participation should never be compulsory, the principle and the mechanisms of participation must be built into the structure at every level, offering parents a wide variety of ways to become involved.

This chapter will first discuss parent and community control of the child care system at each organizational level, and suggest some

ways of coping with the conflicts that are likely to arise. It will then briefly address itself to more informal patterns of parent involvement in child care: participating in the ongoing activities of each center, and receiving useful services and education from the system.

Parent Control and Community Control

We have recommended that parents control the child care system at all levels of planning and operation and throughout all stages of the project. To ensure this degree of control, an organizational structure must be established which clearly specifies who has authority to make what decisions at each level, and which keeps communications open between levels.

To ensure a wide variety of child care which responds directly to parents' needs, we recommend a high degree of decentralization. Broadly stated, this means that a central, project-wide board will set minimum standards of safety and staffing, consolidate and coordinate technical assistance and support services, and be publicly accountable for the use of public funds. All decisions concerning the program and operation of individual centers will remain at the center level, assuring enough diversity and flexibility to meet the needs of all consumers and providers.

Parents should have a major role in decision-making at all levels. The specific form this role should take will depend on the community; but in general we suggest that parents be a majority of the governing board at individual centers, and that they make up at least one-third of the central board. Parents should also have a direct involvement in any long-term policy studies which may be undertaken, such as a critical review of day care licensing requirements.

A distinction must be made between parent control (those with children actually in the child care system) and community control.

The latter must draw together all the various interests in a community, and can often result in factional infighting. To prevent such possible dissension from blocking day-to-day service to children and families, we suggest that community control be exercised at higher levels, while control of center operation is retained by the parents of children in each center.

Central Board

The duties of the central board will be to make general policy for the child care facilities within the framework set by the state and local licensing requirements (unless these are waived for the Impact Study) and by guidelines set by OEO. Interpretation of these guidelines becomes an important part of the job.

A major problem confronting the community planners will be the organization of the board of directors for the project agency. How many local community, political, professional, public and private groups will want representation on the board? What will the various patterns of representation imply in terms of allocation of resources and interests that are served? What structure is most likely to minimize conflict and misuse of resources, but still be satisfactory to all groups concerned? These issues are crucial for community planners to consider when they deal with the structure of control.

Selection. Since dealing with tension and dissatisfaction are a part of the board members' role, any method of putting together a board should be carefully examined in the light of the specific circumstances within which it will be working. The method should be chosen in part for its low irritation quotient, or perhaps because it is familiar to the community. Each method has its strengths and weaknesses, and its chronological suitability for an ongoing operation. But the first year may be viewed as hazardous no matter what the selection plan, because people from diverse backgrounds will be working together.

The most utilized model for representation is the elected board, patterned after the school board system. The community is divided by statute into geographical units, and constituents in each unit elect

their own board members. An alternative may be a citywide election to the central board with each center nominating and electing members from within its own group.

The elective process appears more democratic than others and is politically astute, even when the board to which parents are elected has only an advisory function. However, a cursory examination of elected boards, particularly school boards, would show that the elected board may in fact be less representative than an appointed one. The effectiveness of the election procedure depends largely on how equitably the community is districted.

A second option is to use volunteers. Although this is seldom done, it should be considered seriously. Volunteers could come to the central board after the initial year of operation only if they had been members of local councils for at least a year. (Membership on local councils could also be voluntary.) Experience has shown that a volunteer usually realizes that he has to know more about the job for which he is offering his services than other people in the general community. The control is applied by limiting the number of persons who may volunteer for central board duty from the local groups. The people who come forth by this method the first time around may well have ability superior to that of elected persons, since this is the first time for everyone.

A third model--the appointed central board--is often tried in the second year of an operation after the elected board has failed to satisfy its constituency in performance. It is possible to secure persons who are knowledgeable about various aspects of child care by this method, depending, of course, on who makes the appointments. But filling board positions through this method means taking responsibility for choices, a situation which invites a kind of dissenation that could be avoided by using elective or volunteer boards, or some combination.

Members. Whatever the method of choice, it is usually desirable to have a wide spectrum of interests represented. The community planners will have to decide what these interests should be.

The central board might include representatives from all relevant constituencies of the town. Parents should make up at least one-third of the board, to ensure user representation. If necessary, delegates from additional constituencies may be added simply by enlarging the board.

An alternative might be to have separate board committees composed of specialists for various functions. They would be convened when their services were needed: a committee of medical professionals to advise on the health component, a committee of educators and child psychologists to assist with the program component. This model allows for heavy representation on the board itself by those who are involved in the day-to-day operation of the centers.

Yet another example of board organization is the town meeting type. This model affords equal representation to everyone involved in the Impact Study--parents, professionals, and office staff. An executive council, generally chosen by the entire "meeting" and often paid, performs the board functions and calls the whole group together whenever decisions must be made, but at least once a year.

A clear, concise series of memoranda and information flowing to each center may eliminate confusion and hostility caused by misunderstanding issues. Representation on the board from centers or organized galaxies of centers (see section on Parents Councils, below) will facilitate this information-sharing. When crucial issues affecting the total system are to be debated, mass meetings attended by members of all local day care facility boards should help to solve problems and to avoid causing problems.

Parents Councils

One means of involving more community people in decision-making is to create an intermediary policy level between the central agency and the child care centers to which parents relate directly as consumers. Each unit (i.e., family day care homes, group day care homes and day care centers) could have a representative selected by the parents participating in that center, who would meet in a parents council overseeing ten to twenty centers. These might be vested with formal authority to plan, organize, and coordinate the centers under their charge, to certify that centers had fulfilled staffing and licensing requirements, and to settle complaints and disputes between center operators and parents. Or the parents councils might operate without formal authority, meeting only for information-sharing and communications sessions, as long as such meetings were profitable. The inter-center parents councils would be primarily organized by the parents, perhaps with some assistance from the project agency; they could then be chartered or recognized by the project as a bona fide representative group.

The advantages of this kind of intermediary structure stem primarily from the greatly decreased number of entities to which the project agency would have to relate on most matters. Particularly for dissemination of information, for collecting data, for filtering out the unimportant policy disputes from the major ones, a users' group meeting once a month would allow the project staff to meet with parents face-to-face quite often. Without such a structure, the project agency staff may well be faced with the task of relating to as many as a hundred or more individual centers on items of importance but of great detail, which could be handled by other means.

The disadvantages of such parents councils rest in the possibly difficult task of organizing them. Parents may not want to bother, or not have time, to attend meetings. If the sessions are not valuable to the parents, then lack of enthusiasm may well render them useless, thus promulgating another form without substance. Yet it may be that any given center will have at least one parent who will be interested

in attending such meetings and considering policy matters, thereby creating communication channels between the project staff and the multitude of centers.

Individual Centers

We have recommended that the prime focus for parent control of child care be at the center level. It is here that service is rendered which meets or does not meet families' needs. Parents should have control over the type and quality of that service.

But it must be recognized that, at least in the project's early stages, some parents will not want to take such an active part in designing their children's programs: some will not have the time; many will not feel themselves competent to intrude in a "professional" area. Furthermore, some operators may be resistant to such parental input.

All those involved will need time to build the expertise and organizational skills necessary for effective dialogue and control. Until this happens, the demand for parent and community control may best be served by a wide range of choice in how centers are run. Three general patterns are likely to emerge:

No organized parent advisory group. Such a center may be run by an outside corporation with a classically professional attitude toward the consumer: If you don't like the product, buy someplace else. It may equally well not be that curt; the relationship between consumer and provider may be very friendly, but just limited to keeping the consumer satisfied--and non-involved--by anticipating and responding to his desires, within the limits of real costs. Some parents may prefer this kind of arrangement.

An organized advisory group without formal control. In this arrangement, parents may have decided it is in their best interest to meet with center staff on the program content and services provided, even meet at the behest of the center staff. If things are not satisfactory, parents would be knowledgeable about the center's operation, accustomed to talking with each other and therefore, as a group, able

to influence center policies, to the point of ousting staff or calling for the outside evaluation. Again, such an advisory group need not be hostile; it can be very beneficial to a center to have an active group of parents participating in decision-making, even work in maintaining the center.

Control by a parents' cooperative. The center could be run by a parents' group, functioning as a board of trustees. They would hire the staff, oversee the fiscal operation of the center, decide on program types, set admission requirements (even beyond the usual project requirements), elect whether to invite fee-paying, middle-class parents in, and decide on their own evaluation standards. This model is attractive to those supporting maximum parental control of child care services; as parents become increasingly sophisticated about the child care system, this is the pattern they are likely to opt for.

All three of these arrangements can live together within the framework of the Impact Study. Initial project-wide requirements insisting on one type or another would be difficult to enforce, put dampers on energy, and destroy freedom of choice on an important matter. It should also be in OEO's interest to see which of the three types attract the most parents, and which has the best programs. However, an active effort should be made throughout the project to draw parents increasingly into the operation and policy-making of individual centers.

The Service Corporation

If a goal of the Impact Study is considerable control by community residents, then the means by which community residents acquire the various services they need should be in the control of community people. An organizational structure, separate from but established by the project agency, is proposed as a solution of this problem. This structure could be a Service Corporation, legally controlled by neighborhood residents as automatic shareholders, through an elected board of directors. The Service Corporation would be a nonprofit enterprise, working to fund its operations from payments received for

service rendered. It could receive an initial grant from the project funds directly, to enable it to get an early start.

The Service Corporation would provide those services required by center operators which could efficiently be handled through centralized procedures: central purchasing of food, consumables, and transportation; arranging medical, dental, and health resources for centers; locating technical assistance on facilities construction, curricular materials, evaluation, state licensing requirements.

In addition, the Service Corporation could become a permanent contribution to the community, acquiring other functions besides those related to child care, and generating continuing sources of funds. Such a possibility is realistic enough to give it considerable priority within the scope of the Impact Study.

Problem-Solving

Child care is an extremely sensitive issue, and planning for a community-wide child care system cannot flourish in an atmosphere of hostility, confusion or ill will. Model Cities agencies throughout the country can bear witness to the seemingly endless string of difficulties that have plagued their day care launchings.

Much of the trouble may have grown out of the myth of participation as a panacea. When Federal funds saturate an area, "control," "participation," "involvement" become loaded words. Day care is the target even before the money arrives.

Many natural frictions exist: staff-board, parent-staff, community-professionals, intra-board, local board-central board, child care system-Federal agency. Some factions will begin fighting for control; others will feel threatened by the new influx. Gossip about parent and community boards spreads through the network of anti-poverty programs, and resentments that may be smoldering in providers and users begin to focus on each other. Getting straight after a bad start takes much time that is needed for the work at hand.

Planners will quickly recognize the importance of working with existing community groups: the church in the neighborhood may offer

its parish hall for a planning meeting; the Ladies Sodality may furnish refreshments. The more original the planners' ideas, the more care must be given to their introduction and dissemination throughout the community.

Representative councils model. No matter how well community relations are handled, internal problem-solving may be the most important and time-consuming of all the boards' activities. One method for coping with this tension, being explored in a well-known demonstration project in a black community, has produced remarkable results. It is used in a parent-controlled public school sub-system, and its problem-solving mechanism fans out into a parent-education, information-sharing and data-gathering operation.

In this project, the system of government follows the usual decentralization pattern. Each local school has a council in which all parents participate (the "town meeting" model). A central council is made up of delegates from each local council. When any school is faced with a major problem, its delegates bring the issue before the central council, which forms a special task force to deal with it. Membership on the task force is voluntary, drawn from the whole sub-system, and based upon parents' familiarity with the problem, expertise in the area, or willingness to investigate it. Each school thus has access through its delegates to the accumulated wisdom of all the parents in the other schools. The report of the task force is then disseminated to each local council. In turn, it becomes their responsibility to get copies to every parent.

While this system is rather cumbersome, its users feel that having a store of valuable information in the hands of every parent cuts down considerably the number of problems that need arbitrating. Whether this process produces a majority of happy parents is not known; it does present a method of getting business done while providing education to the greatest number.

Consultants model. Less-contrived models exist. One used by Head Start parents in a southern city has a binding arbitration feature

that originated from using outside mediators in union disputes. In this particular model, consultants are used as arbitrators. This efficient, fast method allows the program to move forward, but it fails to engage the parents at the basic level of struggle.

Group process model. At the other end of the scale is the group process, or "T-group," method of resolving friction by helping people to understand each other better. Boards have used it successfully as an internal device for getting divergent personalities to work together without constant confrontation. It may be that in trying to weld themselves into a cohesive, service-producing entity, board members become better able to deal with factional hostility, dissenting community groups, and the everyday friction of being in a position of power.

The success of this method varies. On some boards, members have felt that tensions were significantly lessened after a group process session. On others, certain members have become more guarded and constricted, possibly in reaction to what they believe their elicited unrestricted behavior told other board members about themselves during the sessions.

No problem-solving technique, whether simple or elaborate, can eradicate the complexity of the substantive issues that produce the problems in the first place. Meaningful participatory experience in the full range of activities, from policy making to maintenance, may reduce the rate of their occurrence.

Parent Participation

For most parents, participation in the child care system will not mean planning a new facility or sitting on a board. But neither will it mean merely signing a "trip slip" absolving the center from blame if a child is injured, and packing him off.

We have said that parents should control the child care system. But control must be preceded by education: parents may need special training to become proficient in an area which has hitherto been the

province of professionals and middle-class parents only. Education, in turn, must be preceded by involvement at the basic level--watching a child develop, testing personal skills in a group setting, talking with professionals and other parents about the nature and purposes of child care, building competence and confidence in one's own abilities. Only with a strong background of involvement and education can participation be an effective device to empower parents, and make them an indispensable factor in the governing of their own institutions.

Obstacles

There are many obstacles to meaningful parent participation at the center level which must be recognized and dealt with. The most obvious is the simple issue of scheduling. A mother with other children at home cannot leave them in order to attend meetings. Working parents have no time at all during the day, and their evenings are often crowded with household concerns. If fathers are to be seriously involved in the child care system, as we believe they should be, special consideration will have to be taken of their available time.

One solution, used by a center in Philadelphia, is to hold family dinner meetings. Food is contributed by the parents or the center, babysitters are on hand, and parents can talk informally with staff about their children, or hold organized discussions about the center's policy and operation. If staff are reluctant to stay during the evening after a full day's work, some provision will have to be made: overtime pay, or perhaps a half-day off. Specific arrangements for meetings will vary depending on the degree and frequency of parents' involvement with the center. The point is that participation must be made as convenient as possible.

A second possible obstacle is resistance to parent involvement on the part of the operators. Some educators feel that interference by "untrained" parents threatens the quality of their professionalism. But it is the parents who are responsible for raising their children; their ideas count heavily. Parents and professionals must set up a dialogue, and teachers must learn to work with parents as well as with children.

In publicly-supported child care centers, the government can make parent control a requirement for receiving funds. With private centers, it is more difficult to ensure involvement. A few organized groups of parents may simply demand control, but most will not be in a position to do this. Possibly a citywide advocacy committee will emerge to negotiate the control issue with individual centers. With such a large amount of Federal money at stake, it should at least be possible to encourage a parents' advisory board at each center, with full access to information.

A more serious obstacle to participation is a psychological one. Many people--especially poor or minority families, one-parent families, welfare families--have little confidence in themselves or their organizational competence. They have been crushed by a system which too often considers them failures, and may lack the courage to make a commitment and risk yet another defeat. They have little faith that they can change the system by taking part in it, or that it can be changed at all.

For these parents, participation must be allowed to develop slowly, building from a sense of personal self-worth and confidence in discrete tasks, to organizational skill and technical expertise. Broad policy-making responsibility cannot be forced on parents before they feel ready to handle it. But, at the same time, a center cannot sit back and wait for parents to become involved on their own accord. It must actively seek parents out, bring them into the daily operation of the center, put their existing skills to work and teach new ones.

Recruitment, Involvement, Education

Some recruitment will be done by the project agency itself, which must contact all eligible parents and elicit community response about the kinds of service desired. Parents will need to know just what the Impact Study is all about, and how to assess their own needs and determine whether they are being met. Most important, prospective parents must have a chance to see a number of centers in operation,

so that they can choose a model which meets their individual and family needs.

Parent initiative. The project agency must give special assistance to parents who are considering starting their own centers, either in groups or in homes. These parents will need to learn the project standards for health and safety, licensing requirements, and the range of fundamentals necessary for child care start-up in old or new facilities. They will need to learn how to choose staff according to project requirements and their own needs. They must be shown a wide variety of child care models, so as not to be locked into what already exists locally, which may be only informal babysitting arrangements and Head Start. Beyond the maintenance of basic child care standards, the project agency might offer incentives to experiment with innovative programs.

Parents planning a local unit may want to hire professional entrepreneurs to design a center program according to their specifications. Such a "turn-key" operation might remove the initial fumbling stage and present the parents and community with a fait accompli which they take over and operate. However, they must be told that this service is available, its cost, and the trade-off between efficiency and the do-it-yourself experience.

Parental payment recipients. The community planners will have to give a great deal of thought to the involvement of parents who are paid to care for their own children at home. Some initial training will be required of them, but probably only several hours. Ongoing training could be provided by regular visits from an early-childhood expert, teaching the parent a larger repertoire of activities and games to enhance the child's emotional and intellectual growth. The family should qualify for all social and health services provided by the system, and central purchasing of food and supplies if they want it. A parent may want help getting in touch with other parents caring for their own children, to pool information or plan joint outings. Whatever the range of services offered, they must be brought to the parents; the agency cannot simply wait for parents to ask.

Group day care parents. Parents with children in a group day care center must be actively recruited into its daily operation. Each center should have someone to act as a parent coordinator, probably paid. This could be the director, a staff member with special responsibilities, or even a knowledgeable parent. This function is especially vital in the early phases, to bring in parents who may be reluctant to interfere in a professional area, or those to whom the thought would never occur.

There are many tasks parents can perform as volunteers, utilizing skills they already possess: playing with children, cooking and sewing, transporting for trips, helping in the office, scouring the community for materials and ideas to enrich the program. Parents can make things to be sold at center-sponsored bazaars, or model in fund-raising fashion shows. They can build climbing apparatus or library shelves and tables, and help with the general upkeep; if they are free during the day, they can teach and play with the children. The purpose of involvement is to prove to parents that skills they already have are useful to the center and to the raising of their children, to get them talking to each other and to the professionals to share skills and experiences, and to give the group confidence in its ability to affect the center's operation.

At the same time, the center can teach new skills that will improve family life and therefore enhance the child's total learning environment. Games and activities taught at the center can easily be duplicated at home. Parents can learn how to use inexpensive toys in a variety of ways, or help the child make his own. Operators can distribute recipes used successfully at the center made with inexpensive or welfare food. Once an atmosphere of trust is established, staff can refer parents to available social services for family or health problems.

As they become more sophisticated about the system and about themselves as organizers and policy-makers, parents can take on a host of other activities related to child care. These might include

political strategy, consideration of evaluation techniques, lobbying for effective child care legislation, proposal-writing for research and development, and fund-raising from local government, foundations, and industry. They can form themselves into a working board of trustees for the center with power to hire and fire staff, set standards, and design programs.

This is a primary goal of the Impact Study--to give the power to make decisions affecting their children's lives to the people who have the responsibility and the right to make them. The child care system itself must provide the involvement and education which is the source of this power.